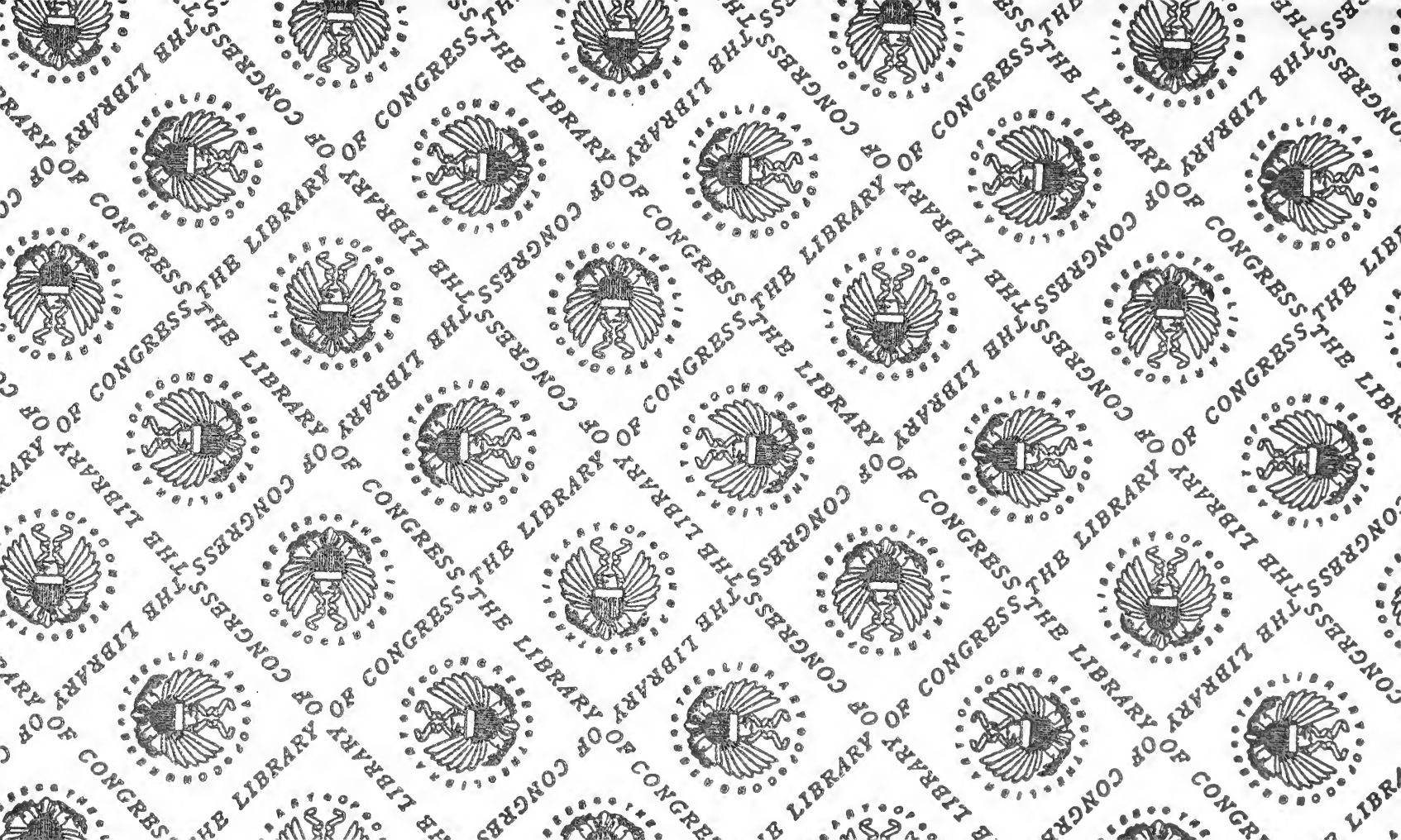
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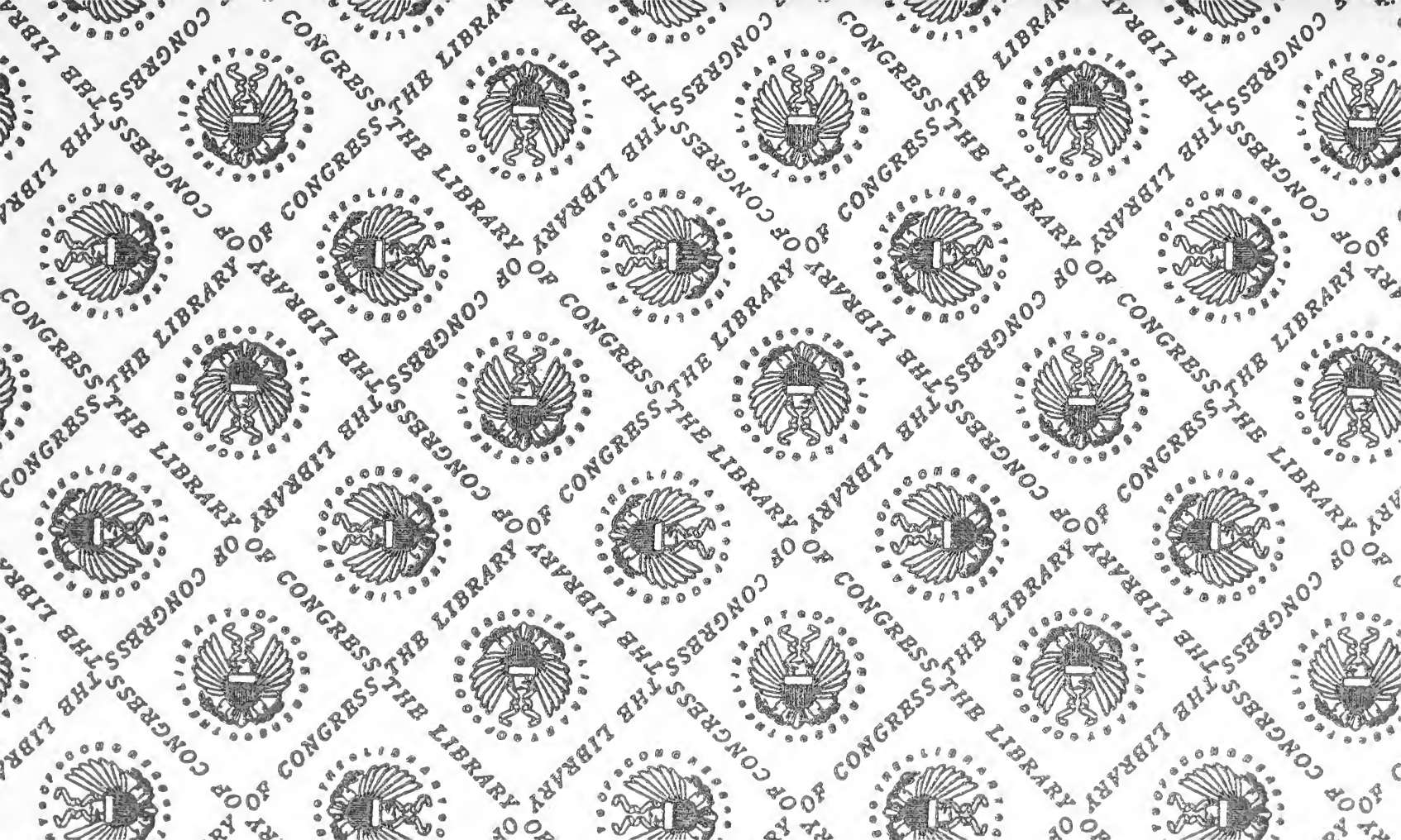
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THE SOUL OF GERMANY

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THE SOUL OF GERMANY

A Twelve Years Study of the People from Within

1902-14

BY

THOMAS F. A. SMITH, PH. D.

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NEW YORK

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AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE

A GREAT deal of interesting literature has appeared during the last decade treating of Modern Germany. The writer has studied a great many of these works, and has the feeling that none of them express what he felt and saw during twelve years spent in Germany. There is nothing of a derogatory nature implied in this remark, for the present author could name several works on German organization which deserve serious study.

Most writers have, however, restricted themselves to some special features of German life, and in the most cases were objective observers. That is to say, they were Englishmen or Americans who did not know the language well enough to judge and feel from the German point of view, or were not in the least capable of "feeling German." The result has been that their writings provide for the most part valuable descriptions of the outward and visible life of the nation, but they give no subjective reasons for these phenomena — they do not describe the life-blood pulsating beneath it all.

Germans are very fond of asking foreigners the question, "Nun, haben Sie sich gut eingelebt?" ("Have you got accustomed to the life?" or "Have you entered into the spirit of your surroundings?"). In reality it means a great deal more: "Have you lived yourself into your surroundings, and become a part of them?" In order to reach that

stage a great deal of self-conquest is necessary; a great many years must be devoted to the language and customs, and incessant alertness in looking at things from the other man's point of view. The student must avoid his own countrymen, and abjure his native language; above all, he must be equipped with unlimited patience and inexhaustible sympathy. If he approaches everything and everybody with his own national tape-measure and preconceived standards, he will make little progress.

Large numbers of Englishmen have wandered about Germany from hotel to hotel, and obtained information from waiters, hotel secretaries, and German-British Consuls. The conclusions of such students are worthless, but unfortunately many members of the House of Commons belong to this category, and when they have expressed opinions, their words have had weight. There are very few M.P.'s indeed who possess thorough first-hand knowledge of the German Empire. Yet Germany has occupied the entire stage of English foreign policy for half a generation.

The writer lays the greatest emphasis on the language qualification. An observer who is not able to feel the slightest vibrations of the language — no matter what country he is studying — is labouring under a very real disability. Natives must not be conscious that a foreign element is in their midst, for that consciousness makes them no longer truly natural and themselves.

After all, the language is the life-blood of national thought and motive, and only by knowing it and feeling it, so as to be able to identify himself with the nation, can an observer get to the heart of things. Most Englishmen whom the writer has met in Germany — and these include a good number who have posed in this country as authorities on Germany — merely floundered through the Fatherland, asking: "What shall I do now?" "How shall I find out

this or that?" "What is expected of me?"—and so on. Many of them were delegates sent out at the public expense, ostensibly to study German methods — in reality to have a good holiday on the cheap. These gentlemen, no doubt, had a good time, and reported on the loving, kindly German, while the latter was amused and astonished at English inefficiency.

Each of the great European States may be compared to an infinite piece of patchwork. There is some sort of jumbled design about it, yet to draw conclusions from one of the small insets and apply them to the whole piece leads only to error. This point refers to authorities who have studied a city or province and ventured to write on seventy million people.

Men who have not known half a dozen Teutons intimately, nor actually conversed with a couple of hundred, have favoured England with their experiences and conclusions, and unluckily they have been hailed as seers.

No single writer is able to write with absolute finality upon so complex a mechanism as Modern Germany. What each believes he can prove or support by weight of evidence is worthy to be considered. But the present writer thinks it desirable for everyone who lays claim to speak with authority on Germany to state frankly what opportunities he has had, and the experiences upon which his theories are based. Hence the author takes this opportunity to inform his readers that he was so absorbed in the task of studying Germans and Germany, that he only visited his native country for sixty days during his twelve years' voluntary exile. He has mixed with every class of German, and never missed an opportunity to talk with the workman in field or factory — they all had something to teach. Above all, he has been in close touch with the intellectuals and official circles. For eight years he has been a civil servant in the Bavarian State

service. He has lived for weeks at a time in the cottages of peasants, and been treated as a welcome guest in the homes of the rich.

A more detailed account of the writer's sojourn in Germany may be of interest. For four years he was a language teacher in the Berlitz School for Adults, Nuremberg. In 1905 he matriculated at Erlangen University and after eighteen months entered the service of the Bavarian State as English lecturer in the above university. In 1910 he completed his doctorate, and in the following year the State gave him the right to a pension which included complimentary Bavarian citizenship. The latter privilege he never made use of, and never had any intention of doing so.

His relations with the German authorities were always of a cordial nature. On July 30th, 1914, his wife became very anxious with regard to the crisis, and on the following day he left Erlangen to bring his family to England. War with Germany intervened and his return to that country became impossible. After serving the Bavarian State for so long he believed that his home and belongings would have been safe, especially as his contract — signed in 1907 — arranged for six months' notice on either side.

But that contract has proved to be only a "scrap of paper." On October 22nd, 1914, the Minister for Church and School Affairs dismissed the writer from the Bavarian State service because he had left Germany — a course which was quite justifiable. But when the author appealed to the Bavarian Government to advance the salary due in lieu of notice, in order that his home might not be sold, he met with a curt refusal.

Hence his late landlord distrained for £20 rent due on January 1st, 1915, and his late master — the Bavarian State — distrained for £6 10s. income tax due on the same date.

Since then no information has been forthcoming with regard to the sale, which took place early in January.

Just before going to press a curious development has arisen. A long letter — seven foolscap pages — has arrived from the Bavarian authorities stating that the author is to be "tried" by the "Chamber of Discipline for State Officials" in Nuremberg. The Minister for Education in Munich has ordered this course to be taken in a letter dated March 8th, 1915. All civil servants throughout Germany are subject to the various Chambers of Discipline, which bear a striking resemblance to the Star Chamber. By these instruments the autocracy is able to smash any official who dares to think, speak, or act contrary to its wishes. The procedure is, of course, secret, and against the Chamber's findings a victim has no power to appeal. Courts-martial keep the army and navy in order, while the Chambers of Discipline are a guarantee that University professors, clergymen, teachers in the State schools and all other officials are docile — even supine to the will of the State.

The offence cited in the "charge sheet" is *Verletzung der Dienstpflicht* (offence against service duty) and consists in expressing anti-German opinions in letters written to four Germans during December, 1914, and January, 1915. The Committee has heard these four persons on oath and confiscated the letters. Three of them belong to the male sex, while the fourth is an invalid lady. She has been compelled to make a statement and give up five letters, which is an apt illustration of German bullying. It is true the author wrote some severe strictures on Germany to his German friends and no one has any right to prohibit him from expressing his opinions.

At first glance it may seem remarkable that Herr Dr. von Knilling, Bavarian Minister for Church and School

Affairs, should dismiss the author from the Bavarian State Service in October, 1914, thereby freeing him from every kind of "service duty," and then decide six months later to try him for alleged offences committed after his dismissal. To the average English mind this may appear idiotic, but it is not so. The Bavarian authorities have been reminded that a contract exists, and the "Discipline Committee" is merely a trick to escape from their financial responsibilities. In Germany contracts and promises are only kept so long as the other party has the power to compel a fulfilment.

The said committee will resume its investigations after May 25th, by which time a copy of this work will be in their hands, and the author hopes it will enable them to arrive at a wise decision. The author presents his compliments to the chairman, Dr. Allfeld, Professor of Jurisprudence in Erlangen University, and trusts that the committee has sufficient sense of humour to recognize that their task is one for the *genus asinorum*. They are ordered to try a man who is outside their jurisdiction, for alleged offences against his "service duties" committed after the Bavarian State had voluntarily freed him from those duties. If the committee will postpone their sittings the writer promises to be present at this latest "Mad Hatters' Tea-Party."

The author claims that he is able to speak with authority on Germany, and in support of that claim takes the liberty to quote extracts from two testimonials in his possession:

MINISTERIUM FOR CHURCH AND SCHOOL AFFAIRS,
MUNICH

March 11th, 1911.

I have known Dr. T. Smith for about eight years and have always found him to be a sincere and honourable gentleman, with whom it is a pleasure to associate. In Nuremberg and Erlangen he has moved in the best social circles.

Through his position in the University of Erlangen and his work in the training seminaries for teachers in secondary schools (the seminaries attached to the Gymnasium in Erlangen and the Realgymnasium in Nuremberg), I have been officially in very close touch with him.

During his long sojourn in German, Dr. Smith has acquired a command of the German language — written and spoken — which deserves great praise. He stands in intimate official relationship to our schools and this has enabled him to gain an insight into our elementary and secondary school systems.

PROFESSOR DR. F. BOCK,
Member of the Ministerial Department for Secondary Schools.

ROYAL REALGYMNASIUM, NUREMBERG.

January 29th, 1911.

The undersigned has had occasion during several years' acquaintanceship to form an estimate of Dr. Smith's excellent character and also to observe the great esteem in which he is held among the Professors in Erlangen University as well as by the authorities controlling the State schools.

During a stay of more than eight years in Germany he has acquired not only a profound knowledge of German and an excellent command of the language, but also a great store of information concerning Germany's school system and universities. He has gained an exact knowledge of the work in German schools by personal inspection, through intercourse with the teachers of many educational institutions, through reading and theoretical studies, and partly from his earlier connections with a Nuremberg private school. Furthermore, he has obtained a good insight into the ways and means by which our teachers in secondary schools are examined, as he has repeatedly assisted in Munich on those occasions.

Finally, Dr. Smith has not neglected to study German national, social and private life, a proof of which has been the annual series of public lectures which he has held in

Nuremberg, dealing with English and German institutions. At the University he has pursued his studies with zeal and gained the academic dignity *doctor philosophiæ*.

DR. RICHARD ACKERMANN,
Vice-Principal.

The author's knowledge is not confined to Bavaria, for he has spent the university vacations — about seven months every year — in travelling from end to end of Germany and Austria. He is quite at home in Breslau or Bremen, Munich or Berlin, Vienna or Prague, and hundreds of other cities, great and small, in the two Empires. His German acquaintances run into many thousands. Hundreds of his former students and pupils are now fighting in the German army. Of thirty-five students who attended his classes in the Summer Term, 1914, twenty had been wounded and six killed when he last heard from Erlangen University in December. Instead of 1,400 students there were only 380 studying at Erlangen last winter, and most of those were expecting to be called up at any minute.

All the large university buildings had been converted into hospitals, for Erlangen had 2,000 wounded to care for. His Nuremberg friends have informed the author that that city is one vast hospital. Yet all his correspondents emphasized the fact, that Germans, undaunted by their sacrifices, were prepared to make any and every sacrifice in order to smash England.

The writer is convinced that even now, after eight months' war, the English nation does not realize the tremendous task in hand. Too much reliance has been placed upon "steam-rollers" instead of upon England's own strength. Responsible men in England have not confided to the nation how great the task is, because these "responsible men" did not know it themselves when hostilities commenced. Stern facts have slowly opened their eyes, and just in proportion as their

intelligence has perceived the grim work to be performed, they have — with apparent reluctance — increased the severity of England's measures against the greatest and bitterest enemy which has ever attacked this country.

The author is greatly indebted to the Rev. N. Miller, B.A., Berkhamsted School, for reading the manuscript. He takes this opportunity of expressing his sincere thanks to this gentleman. In addition he must express gratitude to his friend W. Fiske, Watford, for suggesting the present work, without whose kindly assistance it would probably never have been undertaken.

All in all, the author's sojourn in the Fatherland was a pleasant and instructive experience, and he affirms with all sincerity that he has no personal animosity against any German. Yet during at least eleven of those years he never wavered in his conviction that Germans look upon England as their inveterate enemy, and hate her. That hate he met in *all* classes, mixed with the hope that "the day" would come when England would be broken and humiliated.

THE SOUL OF GERMANY

CHAPTER I

THE GERMAN HOME

READERS whose most cherished recollections in life are associated either with the "ancestral," the "cottage" or the "free, fair homes of England" must necessarily feel an interest in the homes which have nourished the exponents of the gospel of brute force. Needless to say, Mrs. Hemans' little poem has no counterpart in German literature or in German life. England's freedom from invasion during six centuries explains why she possesses delightful villages, homely farmhouses, beautiful manors, stately halls and majestic castles which are the envy of the world.

Charles Dickens preached the gospel "home," and in spite of the fact that he has found admirers and imitators amongst every literary people of the earth, no other nation has accepted the home as the foundation of national life to the same degree as England; no other nation esteems the influences of home higher

than the English; in no other land is it so easy to found a home, and nowhere else does the law protect the home as in England, which deserves the title — the Home of Homes. Above all, nowhere else are home affections so true and pure.

The literature of a nation reveals its innermost thoughts, deepest yearnings and highest ideals. Therefore it is not surprising that England's literature tells, in verse and prose, the great epic of home; the sweetest songs to an English heart are not those which tell of "saddest thought," but of home joys and sorrows. And just as the home holds pride of place in our most enduring literature, so, too, the gospel of home is an essential part — not the least noble — of England's message and mission to humanity.

If this be true, then England must be from the very nature of things an unrelenting enemy to the doctrine of the German Social Democrats who have declared war upon the institutions of family and home.

A great deal has been written in praise of German home life, with a small part of which the present writer is able to agree. His observations have forced him to the generalization that German cottage homes are hovels; the homes of the middle classes, tenements under police supervision; and the homes of the rich, isles of exclusiveness.

It is only fair, however, to admit that a great part of what is written here of German homes, applies

equally to the home life of other lands. Nevertheless, the writer believes the differences between English and German standards of honour, morality, commercial honesty, reverence for womanhood, sympathy for the downfallen, chivalry to the weak, conceptions of right and wrong as well as susceptibility for religious faith, are mainly due to the different positions which the home occupies in the life of the two peoples.

Inseparable from the question of the home is that touching the honour and homage paid by a nation to its womankind. Almost as much care is spent on the education of girls in Germany as on the education of boys. Even the small provincial towns possess well-equipped and staffed secondary schools for girls [1] which in the great majority of cases are supported and controlled by the municipal authorities.

The curricula prevailing in the various States are liberal and enlightened in spite of the fact that the whole programme of studies is mapped out by the Board of Education and must be rigidly adhered to in practice. Of course the Government Commission which draws up the curriculum, choosing and excluding the subjects best adapted to form woman's mind, consists of men. The heads of schools and a large proportion of the teaching staff are always members of the sterner sex. Thus early in life girls are sub-

[1] Variously styled: *höhere Mädchenschule,* or *Töchterschule, Lyzeum* or *Studienanstalt,* etc.

jected to male influence [2] in the school, and probably acquire there that submissiveness to mere man which is so characteristic of German women.

However excellent these arrangements may be for improving the girls' mental calibre they are not the means to produce the highest types of womanhood. But it is German system — to force the girl into the prescribed mould so that the type of woman proceeding therefrom shall be the article best suited to German political economy, viz., a docile housewife.

On leaving school the German girl is well-educated (mentally) and knows a great many things of no value in this world or the next. But she knows them, and from the German point of view it is not necessary for knowledge to be useful.

As a rule Germans do not get knowledge in order to use it, that is the despised aim of English utilitarianism; Teutons cultivate *Idealismus*. Her training has been almost entirely intellectual; the German school — for either sex — is not the place to form character; neither has the grace and charm associated with a young " lady " played any considerable rôle in fitting her for life's journey. In spite of her knowledge she is better equipped for the kitchen than the drawing-room.[3] This is just as it should be, for if she enters the matrimonial state the former is destined to be her future realm, outside which she

[2] Germany possesses *private* schools too, in which, generally speaking, feminine influence prevails.

[3] *Mehr küchen- als salonfähig.*

seldom shines. In that domain she forgets modern languages, maths., and other plagues of school life in order to fulfil her mission in life, *i.e.*, mother and housekeeper. With *sparen* [4] as her motto she devotes and sacrifices herself to the household and her children's *material* welfare.

These virtues have gained for her the unstinted admiration of Germany's menfolk, who never tire in praising the German *Hausfrau* — and it is all deserved. But in just that, she has missed a still higher mission, the right and power to form the character and opinions of her children. Her sons look to her as a housekeeper, and therefore never learn that reverence for womanhood which inspires the noblest chivalry. Hence she fails utterly to instil any higher respect for her sex in the youth's heart than that which allows him to treat waitress and shop-girl as his playthings — to be replaced later by a "wife-housekeeper" of his own social standing. "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" is a moral not yet accepted and enforced by German mothers, yet they alone will ever be able to combat successfully the poison of Nietzsche's *Herrenmoral,* and the pernicious teachings of Herr Bebel.

In all the menial tasks of home the German wife stands *par excellence,* but in the national life, in checking its evil currents or inspiring its highest motives, she is a cipher. She accepts conditions as

[4] *Sparen* = to economize, cut down expenses, save.

they are, is too docile and unassertive, and sets too low a price upon herself.

Woman in Germany has not yet learned to be a queen of tournament, commanding a noble code, but is still satisfied with the shallowest service of lip and eye.

The marriage knot must in all cases be tied first in the municipal registry office, a ceremony which is mostly succeeded by one at church on the following day.

It is above all in the marriage market that German women make themselves exceedingly cheap. Girls of the lower classes exercise the greatest thrift in order to procure *eine Ausstattung*[5] and a little money, without which she has little hope of finding a Hans who will make her his housekeeper and slave. Having bought a man, her chief worry in life seems to be removed.

Especially among the peasant classes women are little better than beasts of burden. From morn till eve, during all the seasons, they may be seen — young and old — performing the heaviest tasks connected with agricultural labour.

Either the compulsion of dire necessity or the cold love of gain causes them to leave home and children to their own resources. On market days the woman carries the heaviest load, while in droughty summers

[5] Among all classes it is the invariable custom for the wife to provide furniture and other things necessary for a home. *Die Ausstattung* includes all the household effects of a home.

it is an everyday sight to see her, bent nearly double in carrying a vessel containing about six bucketsful of water, fitted by straps on to the back, considerable distances to water the parched fields. Yet hers is a lot much desired and envied by her unmarried sisters!

Without exaggeration it may be stated that in Germany every man has his price and Fräulein's determination to make a purchase at all costs only tends to make the market price go up. Officers command the highest figure. Next in order come university and professional men, while the mere man of business makes a bad third.

Here again German littleness betrays itself in exquisite form. No German lady is addressed by her surname, e.g., Mrs. Jones; but always by her husband's title or position, whatever that may be, e.g., Mrs. Doctor, Professor, Architect, or even Mrs. Chimneysweep, and joy of joys to German flappers (*Backfisch*), Mrs. Lieutenant! To be addressed as *Frau Leutnant* and swank amid dazzling uniforms is a dizzy dream for which Gretchen must, and does, willingly pay thousands of pounds.[6]

[6] No German officer may marry without his colonel's permission. This gentleman looks carefully — with the help of Germany's social spy system — into the lady's social standing before giving his consent. If the officer is still a lieutenant the lady must further deposit a sum from three thousand pounds for infantry, up to a much higher figure if the man is in a crack regiment. By paragraph 150 in the Military and Naval Penal Code an officer in either service can be sentenced to three months' imprisonment in a fortress and dismissed from the service for marrying without official permission.

Only too frequently the sacrament of marriage has sunk in modern Germany to a sordid business bargain, entered into by the man without any other sentiment than the desire to get his university or other debts paid and have a home provided for his worthless self.

Ladies with marriageable daughters leave no stone unturned in the hunt to find them suitable partners in life — but his suitability is reckoned only according to his social position and title. Only possible "chances" are encouraged to visit the family, and then no other marriageable girls are invited to distract the intended victim. Friends and relations — who have no daughters to get off — are pressed into the conspiracy to obtain Gretchen as much *Herrenanschluss* (gentlemen acquaintances) as possible. When matters proceed too slowly, even marriage agencies (the number of these is legion) and anonymous advertisements are resorted to.

All in all, the German mother looks upon marriage as the end and aim of her daughter's being; to attain this end she is generally prepared to obliterate herself and on occasion to intrigue and scheme in a manner incompatible with her own or the daughter's highest womanly interests. Consequently the menfolk accept them on these terms.[7]

[7] The work which has been quoted several times, "Moral und Gesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts" ("Morality and Society in the Twentieth Century") contains a chapter which throws a lurid light on German women and the *Geld-Heirat* (money-marriage).

When men meet together and a young lady's name is mentioned, the next remark will almost certainly be of this kind: "Was bekommt sie mit?" or "Wie hoch schätzen Sie ihr Mitgift?" That is to say, how much hard cash will be paid down at her "marriage"? According to the figure mentioned the young lady is an interesting topic of conversation or is dropped.

Should one of the supermen feel inclined to offer her the position of housekeeper he will pursue diligent inquiries among his and her friends to discover whether the *Mitgift* (dowry) has been correctly estimated. If these sources fail him he proceeds to an *Auskunftei* (inquiry agency) and endeavours to get information about his prospective bride and her family through what is no other than a spying institution. There are branches and agents of these in every town and village, while no German newspaper is without such advertisements as the following: "Before getting engaged or married take up information about the dowry, bride's past life and family." [8] "Mar-

Fritz Berolzheimer's picture is much blacker than that painted by the present writer.

[8] These inquiry agencies play an essential part in German business and social life. Every business house has a contract with one or more. The name of a new customer asking for credit is quickly 'phoned to the agency. An ordinary business inquiry costs from one to three shillings; a full report about any person (such as are obtained before marriage) costs twenty shillings. Both sexes resort to them freely, and it would be impossible to walk through the principal streets of any important German city without noticing a dozen or more offices of that kind.

riage.— I am seeking suitable husband for my niece" (sometimes sister or daughter), "aged twenty-four, blonde, good-looking, fine figure; gets £2,000 down and more later. Box No.—." "Official" (sometimes officer) "in high position seeks the acquaintance of educated lady who must dispose of at least £10,000. Correspondence through parents or relative not objected to. Secrecy a matter of honour. Address to, etc."

In peace times it was impossible to read any issue of the *Berliner Tageblatt* or the *Frankfurter Zeitung* without finding all sorts of marriage offers emanating from the Jewish world. These often begin with the word *Schadchen,* which means that the advertiser requires a commission of about two per cent. on the dowry. *Schadchen* is untranslatable, but the form is usually the following: "*Schadchen* moving in the best circles is prepared to introduce gentleman to several rich young ladies, etc."

It is exceedingly illuminating to think that your well-groomed German guest carries the art of spying into the "best circles" and exploits your family life to gain a commission by finding a husband for your daughter.[9]

Last summer an Englishman resident in Nuremberg showed the writer a paper which he had been

[9] Wine-merchants, cigar dealers, moneylenders, etc., often advertise for "gentlemen moving in good circles" who, in consideration for a commission on business done, will recommend or introduce their wares to the *besseren Kreisen.*

asked to sign by such a private marriage-agent. The document set forth that the agent was prepared to introduce Mr. A. to Fräulein X. If an engagement followed between them Mr. A. undertook to pay £15 and after marriage a further £45.

Mitgifts determine German marriages, and according to German notions of arranging these unions it is "diamond cut diamond." Parents discreetly circulate rumours of their daughter's dowry; the young men, for their part, use every means which spying places at their disposal to see if the figure quoted is a mythical one.

One Teuton was not in the least ashamed to tell the author that he had been engaged three times, and each time his prospective father-in-law had been unable (or unwilling) to fulfil the hopes previously raised in regard to the dowry.

Cases reported from German law courts afford ample proof that the marriage market is a happy hunting ground for adventurers, while a closer knowledge of German life goes to show that the German genius for gathering information, for making inquiries, for secrecy and spying, has found no domain where it is so active as in the "heaven" where marriages are made.

How many German "homes" have sprung into being through these match-making, sordid intrigues it would be impossible to determine. It is only of interest to know that they are the accepted standards

and methods, and having once established this fact, the large and increasing number of divorces [10] is a phenomenon which requires little further comment.

Returning to the homes of cottagers and peasants, a German cynicism best describes their cleanliness and comfort. It runs thus: "Why is the air in the country so fresh? Because the peasants never open their windows!"

German cottages contain a minimum of comfort and, except in the mountainous districts, are seldom picturesque; even there the inhabitants have a strong objection to fresh air within their homes! The best that can be said of the peasantry, is they are a hard, brutal, thrifty race, placing little value upon the refinements of life and seemingly possessing no inclination to acquire them. Dour and revengeful, quarrelsome and ever ready with the knife, they never allow a village festival to pass without knifing events or the smashing of beer-mugs on each other's heads being duly chronicled in the local press. To them home is merely a place to sleep, but they have an advantage over the myriads of dwellers in towns in that they may sleep under their own roof-tree, while with few exceptions the greater part of Germany's population is condemned to exist in flats.

[10] In 1913 no fewer than one thousand eight hundred and eighty marriages were dissolved in Bavaria, which is for the most part a Roman Catholic country, in spite of the fact that the Roman Catholic Church is bitterly opposed to divorce. Divorce statistics on page 231.

The privacy and seclusion which an Englishman values so highly is under German conditions unknown. Usually the landlord occupies one of the flats, generally that on the ground floor. On entering the house one of the first things which strikes the eye is a placard containing some twenty numbered paragraphs, comprising the *Hausordnung* (rules for the house) — what you must or must not do. A tenant is informed in the house rules when he may play the piano and how he may water the flowers on the window-sills, etc. The landlord is the house policeman, so that even the German better-class homes are not free from barrack-yard discipline. Your comings and goings are duly observed, those of visitors likewise.

Germans are naturally quarrelsome, so that in the space between the common wash-house in the basement and the common drying-room under the roof, sufficient points of contact and conflict will be found to engender strained relations for the best part of the year. Under the roof there are several small chambers (or kennels) ranged round the big drying-room. These are the bedrooms of girls in service in the various flats, which is an excellent institution for satisfying the insatiable German inquisitiveness! Further, it gives the servants the opportunity — seldom missed — of receiving nocturnal visits and of making nocturnal excursions to dances during the carnival season.

Many of these flats are elegant, spacious and expensive, yet they are not conducive to that home atmosphere and security which has given rise to the popular phrase, "An Englishman's house is his castle." In other days it may have been otherwise, but modern German homes seem to exercise little power of attraction upon their owners. The whole atmosphere is one of restraint and condensed stiffness, genuine German propriety and order. One never feels free and easy, and even between families connected by intimate ties of friendship the exchange of visits is always characterized by formality. There is nothing of a "drop in" or "call round at my place" style in German friendships, and there are no German idioms by which these phrases could be rendered in that language. The kindly cordiality hidden beneath such expressions is a feeling foreign to German character, and entrance to a German home is something of a tremendous nature, a state occasion, and the behaviour on both sides must be correspondingly dignified.

If the Teuton thinks anything of his home, then his idea is to be shut out from the world, to have a corner entirely to himself, and there much the same spirit prevails as that depicted in Tennyson's "Palace of Art." The best German homes aptly illustrate the national egoism.

When talking of England Germans expressed amazement at the ease with which they could get their

sons and daughters accepted in better-class English families.[11] No conception of the home as a sort of beacon light shedding its divine influence beyond its own borders has ever dawned upon the Teutonic imagination. A German's highest idea of home is to have a place entirely sacred to himself.

Yet it is rare for a German's centre of gravity to lie near his own hearth. The innumerable coffee-houses, restaurants and beer-gardens in the summer time bear witness to the fact that the German is not a home-loving being; he prefers to see and be seen amid the glaring lights of public places.

On Sundays, from midday till midnight, it is difficult to find a vacant chair in them; if German families wish to meet each other the invariable rendezvous is at the coffee-house or restaurant. An advantage, perhaps, is the extra work consequent upon entertaining at home is avoided, and it is an easy, inexpensive manner of displaying the charms of marriageable daughters. Yet it proves how far the average German has reversed the usual order of things and made the restaurant his home, while his flat has become his hotel. Even the inevitable *Kaffeekränchen* (coffee

[11] A young German compelled to live away from home is never able to get into a good family. He takes a bedroom and boards in the restaurants. When advertising for such a room he generally states that the room must be *ungeniert* or *sturmfrei,* which means that the landlady must make no complaints if members of the other sex visit him. By this means the widespread systems of *liaisons* (*Verbältnissystem*) flourishes. It is to the credit of young Englishmen that they could more easily get into good families than young Germans could.

circle), so dear to German women, has its venue in a public coffee-house.

German home-life is a loose conception and the home exercises little or no influence on Germany's sons and daughters. It may be that the enormous commercial prosperity of the last forty years has hastened the undermining process, or it may be that this phase of German "progress" is right and our old-fashioned system is wrong, but the essential fact remains, that the institutions as they exist suit admirably the German love of ostentation. Yet the price paid is high: the influence of home as a factor in national life has disappeared, and the garden where noble characters are grown has been handed over to serve as building sites for restaurants and coffee-houses.

CHAPTER II

GERMAN SCHOOLS — INTELLECTUAL BARRACKS

IT has been very truly said that Germany is the world's schoolmaster, and like many another of that profession the Fatherland has fallen into the error of believing that the rod — in this case the mailed fist — is an end in itself. Nevertheless, the world owes a great debt to our Teutonic cousins for a long list of great pedagogues, as well as for the system of schools which have been models for the rest of the world.

As this chapter is not written solely for schoolmasters, the technicalities will be dealt with in broad outline, but at the same time a serious attempt will be made to define the aims — avowed, or unconscious — pursued, and the results achieved in German schools.

In 1870 England began in earnest to educate the masses; in so doing she copied a great deal from the institutions on the other side of the North Sea. According to statistics there are fewer illiterates in Germany than any other country of the world; this fact, however, does not deter the writer from affirming most positively, that in forty-four years this country has equalled, and in some respects surpassed, her former models. The average English

boy or girl on leaving an elementary school has an intellectual equipment at least equal to his German cousin, but in those qualities which fit the individual to adapt himself to life and the higher virtues characterized as "duty towards one's neighbour," he or she possesses decisive advantages. German teachers impress upon their charges with infinite fidelity the individual's duty to that vast incubus which presses upon every phase of the national life — the State; but the elementary principles of chivalry he neglects.[1] In short, the fundamentals of humanitarianism are not the chief aim of German elementary schools, but rather to create disciplined loyal citizens, unquestioningly obedient to the State.

The four and a quarter million votes given to Social Democrats at the last Reichstag election prove that even in their chief aim German schools have failed, although the manner in which German soldiers are fighting for their Fatherland supports the contention, that the same schools have succeeded in teaching patriotism. In superficial politeness, such as raising the hat to all and sundry, knocking at the door before entering a room, standing bareheaded when speaking to a superior, etc., the German lad

[1] Dr. Karl Peters, in his book on England, emphasizes the teaching in all our schools as inculcating the principles of fair-play; two boys do not pitch on to one, nor a big boy attack a little chap; if in a fight one is knocked down, his opponent waits till he is up again; English boys learn to respect the weaker sex, etc. Peters, among other German authors, deplores the absence of these qualities in the youth of Germany.

can give an English schoolboy points, but in true decent feeling, kindly consideration towards elders and his fellow "men" in general, the writer maintains that the youth of England are a long way ahead. The outward form does not always reveal the inner motive, and on countless occasions he has observed the German girl curtsy, the schoolboy obsequiously lower his cap almost to the ground, and the soldier salute with wooden rigidity — only to make a grimace in the next instant, or for the expression of profound respect to become a sarcastic snigger — when discovery seemed impossible. It is natural to conclude from these small "feathers" which way the wind blows; that the sign of respect given to the teacher is the result of the inevitable "must," and not a tribute to the schoolmaster's character; that the soldier's *Ehrenzeichen* is given to his superior's uniform and not to the man in it. *Ehrenzeichen* is a word written in bold characters on the life-path of the German. In school he learns to render it almost to a degree of servility, and his subsequent military service inculcates still more obsequiousness to the brink of inner revulsion. It is the foundation of that outward punctiliousness which characterizes German life, irrespective of inward motive or sincerity. Exteriors must always be absolutely "correct," but the average Teuton troubles himself little as to what is concealed beneath them, in fact he accepts it as a part of life's game — dust in the other man's eyes — and in super-

ficial politeness with diplomatic motives, the simulation of reverence and sincerity, the German is a past-master. Cringing would be a plain Anglo-Saxon term for this quality, and this characteristic quality of German life is usually a mantle for insincerity or even concealed malice.

The schoolmaster is content that the forms of respect due to him are shown, in fact he mercilessly insists upon them; but it is indeed rare that he endeavours through his own personality to inspire them. The young German does not obtain those qualities in his school which are the basis of true character, viz., the right respect for himself, and reverence for God and goodness in other men. But, on the other hand, he has absorbed an element of poison in that he has learned to look upon polite exteriors as vital.

In the streets of German villages and towns it is possible to observe every few minutes two acquaintances who have stopped to chat, raising and deeply-swinging their hats at meeting and leave-taking, several times in as many moments. Neither means anything, possibly they are bitter rivals or even hate each other, yet both will observe these slavish forms of politeness, and either of them would be deeply offended at any omission on the part of the other.

During his first weeks in Nuremberg the writer was amazed at the amount of awe which *seine kleine Wenigkeit* inspired in his acquaintances. He did not look upon this adulation as a tribute to himself, but

admits that at first he was betrayed into considering it sincere respect for his country and nationality. Twelve months, however, sufficed to dispel even that illusion; it is simply the German's conception of "playing the game." He uses this weapon to throw dust in the eyes of his enemy, to curry favour with his superiors, to express his respect for women of virtuous and light character, to deceive his friends and at the same time possibly deceive himself.

But there is another lesson which German schools inculcate with no less thoroughness, that is best expressed by the word *must*. The child must go to school, he must learn, he must be quiet and orderly; in short — he must obey. There are no absentees — except for illness; parents must send their children to school, and as they, years before, have been to school and learned "must," they send them.

The German State is a stern father; in effect it says: "You must go to school in order to become a good citizen for my, and your own, welfare. You must serve in the army, so as to be able to defend me. You must die for me, if I so will it." There are a good many "musts" in the life and death of a Teuton, but those three are perhaps printed largest.

School-life is not softened or enlivened by sports, although there are a number of lessons given in the open air, but the teacher accompanies his class on such occasions, as if he were a field-marshal condemned to march with a squad of soldiers. It is un-

professional for him and utterly *infra dig.* to unbend and become a comrade or friend.

To sum him up, his appeal — based on strict pedagogic principles — is directed to the child's head — never to his heart; whereby the aim of the German school is attained of helping to make machines of human beings, with this result, too, that the latter cherish little affection for their school in after-life.

Unfortunately these schools, as well as the State Secondary Schools, have become the principal arena for the bitter struggle waged uninterruptedly in Germany since the Reformation, between Protestants and Catholics.

As far as circumstances will possibly allow the children of the two great branches of Christianity are taught separately, and only by men professing their faith. They learn to look upon each other with suspicion, often mingled with contempt, while both learn to despise most heartily children of Hebrew parents.[2] Instruction in some religion or other is compulsory; would it not be better to drop it out of the curriculum entirely, rather than reduce it to the dead level of the other brain-drill subjects?

Every child has his book of catechism and another of Bible history, both duly approved by the powers-that-be; each part of the former is supplemented by

[2] Religious distinctions are even carried into the playground. A rich Nuremberg Jew, for whom I have profound respect, told me that the children of Jewish families were practically ignored in the playground, and thus forced to play alone.

Luther's interpretation in smaller type; both text and elucidation have to be committed to memory. In like manner stories and sayings from the Bible, together with hymns, are crammed into the child's memory. The teacher may not think for himself in giving an interpretation, much less so his pupils; the German Church and State are indeed careful to prevent error or heresy from creeping into their fold!

It is systematized religion, in which the part of the teacher is very clearly defined, but a system in which the wonderful heroic stories, the simple faith, the glorious poetry, the splendid lessons of right and wrong-doing to be found in the Old Testament lose their power, and dull instead of firing the youthful imagination, and a system in which the lustrous personality of Jesus Christ, the Sermon on the Mount, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, are scientifically reduced to the limits of a dry-as-dust catechism. The limits are indeed so confined that no room has been found for either "My duty towards God" or "My duty towards my neighbour." It is not surprising, therefore, if the children of the masses leave school at the age of fourteen with a false conception of real values, with a predisposition to judge by exteriors, with the feeling that they are Germans, but of little account in the great organism called the State, with no idea of the truth so deftly expressed in Burns' poem, "A man's a man for all that," and lastly without the necessary ballast to character.

What wonder if they fall victims to the doctrines of envy, class-hatred, and atheism so assiduously taught by the Social Democratic party; what wonder, too, if religion means to their " drilled " imagination something infinitely more worthless than arithmetic.

Sir Joshua Fitch, in his " Lectures on Education," compares a perfect system of national education to a pyramid; the base, elementary schools on which secondary education is built up to support an apex of universities. No country has approached nearer to the realization of this ideal than Germany. After three or four years in a " People's School " (or in the preparatory schools which exist in many cities), the boy [3] proceeds at the age of ten to one of the State Secondary Schools.

There are three distinct types, viz., *Gymnasium* (full classical school, their inception dates from the Renaissance); *Realgymnasium,* in which English is compulsory in the place of Greek; *Oberrealschule,* without classics. In each type of school the normal course lasts for nine years, but after six years an examination takes place which gives successful candidates the right to serve only one year in the army; further, this certificate admits its holders to the lower branches of the civil service, the post, railway, telegraph and telephone departments.

Naturally the sons of the lower middle-classes

[3] The children of the working classes remain in the elementary schools till the age of fourteen and afterwards attend continuation schools till the age of seventeen.

leave school in considerable numbers on obtaining the "one-year" certificate. Those, however, who complete the course receive a certificate which admits them to any German, Austrian or Swiss university, cadet schools for the army or navy, the higher branches of the civil service, as well as many other institutions or administrative authorities.

Matthew Arnold wrote that the knowledge gained during nine years in one of these classical schools is equal to that necessary to take an Oxford or Cambridge B.A. pass; in our days, though, this comparison would probably no longer hold good. The course imposes an almost unheard-of amount of grinding on the pupils, but those who aspire to the learned professions and the higher walks of life *must* pass through one of these three courses. In common parlance the Gymnasium is dubbed the *Penal* and a scholar a *"Penäler."* Although the etymology of these words is too doubtful to assert that they have the same origin [4] as our word penal, yet they are always employed in that sense.

It is true, corporal punishment has been absolutely banished from these institutions, nevertheless an iron discipline prevails. The lad is addressed as "thou" up to the age of fifteen, and then he may claim the more formal and respectful "you," but throughout his school career he never receives a blow from either

[4] Some authorities give the Latin *penna* as the possible derivative.

teacher, professor or school rector. He learns to look upon a blow as a mental, moral and physical humiliation, which may not even be inflicted upon a convict; yet the subservience which he must show to his mentors under the style of *das Ehrenzeichen* (sign of respect) is probably in its final results more degrading than corporal chastisement. At any rate the author is convinced that this doctrine of the sacredness of his person against physical punishment fills young Germany's head with an exaggerated idea of his importance, leads to a state of morbid sensitiveness, and lays the foundations of the system known as a "code of honour," which would be more correctly described as "diseased egoism."

Such, however, is the case, and even the use of such an expression as "Oh, you ass, Brown VI.!" to a bigger boy would involve the master who employed it in most serious difficulties. In fact if he refused to retract and apologize his pupil could begin a lawsuit against him for insult! Yet these same lads, when they meet a member of the staff, must bow to him in a manner which calls to mind a picture of Sir Walter Raleigh bending before his imperious mistress. This leads naturally to an atmosphere of pettiness and a state of war between pupils and their masters known as "pin-pricks."

When the writer's son entered one of these schools he duly received a printed copy of the regulations issued by the Minister for Church and School Affairs,

One clause especially aroused his (the writer's) indignation and pity. It ran thus: "Jede Selbsthilfe ist verboten" (Every sort of self-help is forbidden). In any quarrel between boys the aggrieved party must report it to a master or the rector. Should he take measures to obtain rough-and-ready justice, he at once becomes the aggressor and would receive any punishment which may be meted out. Punishments take the form of reprimands, detention, warning, interview with the rector, *Dimittiern* (the pupil may enter another Bavarian school) and *Excludieren,* in which case no Bavarian State school would admit him.

No Englishman requires to be told that such institutions become hot-beds of tale-telling. In German it is called *Denunziation,* a disease by no means restricted to schoolboys or their masters, but a cancer-growth with infinite roots spread throughout the nation.

The schoolboy runs to the rector with tales about his master; the rector, too, must be very "correct," or a spying master will report his comings and goings to the Minister for Church and School Affairs. Germans designate the tale-teller's virtue by the dignified name of *Pflichtgefühl* (feeling of duty), and it is easy to imagine such a *Denunziation* commencing: "I, Michel Deutsch, feel myself prompted by my feelings of duty to my Fatherland and Superiors to report most humbly, etc., etc.," *ad nauseam.*

If necessary, a whole volume might be filled with examples from the author's personal observation, only such compositions are nauseous even in the repeating. This conclusion must, however, be stated, that in German internal affairs, in schools and universities, in her Church and army, in the counting-house and the court, indeed everywhere, spying and tale-telling form just as essential a part of the great system, as they do in her relations with other lands.

Just as in the " People's Schools," there are also no sports in the State Secondary Schools. In Bavaria football was prohibited in all State schools about three years ago; the official justification being that this game cultivated roughness and ungentlemanly behaviour; but the real reason was doubtless the morbid sensitiveness already mentioned.

Both among teachers and taught there is far too much petty jealousy and hostility to allow the healthy, vigorous rivalry associated with sport to flourish. Too many morbid egos would feel themselves insulted and injured in such rude games. Still, every school has an excellently equipped gymnasium and generally two hours weekly are devoted to physical exercises. This side of German education is always relegated to a drill teacher who is almost without exception a pensioned N.C.O.

Some five years ago the Prince Regent of Bavaria (since deceased) instituted an annual games festival for competitions in field sports between the various

schools in each town. But these "friendly" affairs let loose such a flood of envy and ill-feeling between the various schools, that the whole arrangement has been reduced to displays without classification.

In July, 1914, the writer attended one of them. The heat was intense: not more than a score of parents (mostly members of the fair sex) were present — in spite of an excellent military band. The drill master, in frock coat and silk hat, standing on a platform, gesticulated and shouted commands, while his august "colleagues" (?) and rectors paraded with haughty aloofness, giving expression to real Teutonic gall and bitterness. The boys showed no interest and everybody was heartily glad when "the concluding remarks" were actually concluded.

The German schoolmaster is too learned, self-important and self-conscious to stoop to the level of his pupils. He is an excellent pedagogue, but his dignity forbids that the gulf between him and his charges should ever be bridged over. No human link may connect them [5] because it is against his principles to exercise any humane influence upon them.

Herr Kirschensteiner, the founder of trade schools,

[5] In the month of May the various classes spend a day in the country. The master plans the outing, which is always on foot. On one occasion a class of boys put together their halfpennies and procured a bottle of light table wine to lend a relish to their master's lunch. This gentleman rejected the gift with undisguised indignation, accompanied his boys to the innkeeper, and saw that it was exchanged. The same man related this incident to me as if he had performed a virtuous deed.

relates in one of his educational works that a Secondary School Teachers' Congress, held in Munich, passed a resolution to the effect that they had nothing to do with formation of character in the school. Their duty was simply to impart knowledge and train the mental faculties; questions relating to character are matters for the nursery and home. How different indeed are England's ideals and methods! Just as in all other branches of German life the individual must submit to authority and allow himself to be absorbed by the mass.

The German Government does not wish any of its schools to teach self-reliance or independence of thought and action; it is no part of the school's duty to cultivate in the individual a conscience which is to become his king. The dictates governing a man's actions, the motives inspiring his deeds must not come from within, the State will supply those — from without. In this manner educated automata are created, whose impulses of motion do not radiate from within, but from a brain-centre outside them.

Recently the Press contained reports of a motor-boat which can be propelled by wireless; the mechanic sitting in a wireless-station is said to have been able to manœuvre a boat by means of wireless telegraphy. That is the ideal underlying the State theory; citizens are so many mechanical units moved and controlled by the great central wireless-station — the State. In military matters Germany has practically realized

this dream, but not in any other branch of the national system, although her school system approaches very near to this ideal.

For more than a decade hatred of England, coupled with the teachings of Germany's world mission, has been propagated by wireless through German schools. It would be exceedingly difficult, in fact impossible, to put one's finger on the source from which these wireless messages have emanated. Yet the fact remains that this process has been going on in class instruction, in lectures, reading books,[6] charts on the wall and all the other apparatus of school life. The writer, during his twelve years' sojourn in Germany, has been in contact with at least several thousand masters, professors and rectors (the last-named are of course not clergymen), while a few hundreds of his former pupils are now engaged in German State schools — providing they have not been called to the colours — and he is regretfully compelled to record that he found only bitter dislike, or at best smouldering suspicion of England among this class. That they have not neglected the opportunities afforded them by their position is beyond doubt, otherwise the venom towards England which he found in German schoolboys, schoolgirls and students (*Freshmen*) in the university, would be inexplicable.

[6] In many of the reading books for teaching the English language German boys read selections of opprobrious terms, which, it is alleged, the English employ when speaking of Germans, e.g. "dirty German," etc.

Only last July his son reported a lesson in which the class — average age eleven — had been informed that the French army was no good, the Russians rotten, and England had no army worth speaking about. If such instruction can be imparted when the master knows perfectly well that an English boy is sitting on one of the benches, one naturally wonders what its purport would be under less embarrassing conditions.

There are two lessons which have certainly been hammered well home in the young mind, and these are: England is a ruthless robber who from sheer motives of envy and lust of power has in turn smashed Holland, Spain and France — Germany's turn comes next, because she is now England's commercial and naval rival. Nelson's bombardment of Copenhagen without any previous declaration of war is an instance which every German has heard in proof of England's treachery. The nation has been led to believe that England meditated a sudden, treacherous attack of that kind on harmless, unprepared Germany. Hanging close at hand were the charts on the class-room wall showing the statistics of the English and German fleets.

Some few years ago the Kaiser wrote a private letter to Lord Tweedmouth, then First Lord of the Admiralty, protesting against the agitation in England about the German menace, and especially against the German fleet alone being used for purposes of com-

parison by the agitators. In that letter, which has been published in the *Times* since the war broke out, the German Emperor is entirely silent about the fact that in the Fatherland itself no other comparison whatever has been dreamt of; certainly in the State schools, that has been the official standard in order to educate young Germany in the naval idea.[7]

The other conception of England which countless Germans accept as an historical fact is that England always plays the rôle *tertius gaudens* (the laughing third). She stirs up strife between any two powers, and keeps out of the fight herself in order to seize the profits.

All that has been written about religious instruction in the elementary schools applies to the higher institutions, except that the results are more deplorable. The young men who proceed from the higher schools are often frankly atheistic or cynically indifferent.

They say they are *satt* (satiated) of religious teaching, and are only too happy to escape from the compulsory divinity-cramming in the schools. An-

[7] The author's opinions on German schools are based upon personal visits to cities and schools too numerous to mention. Between September 10th, 1913, and March 20th, 1914, alone, he lectured in over one hundred German and twenty-five Austrian Secondary State schools, and visited among many more the following cities: Hannover, Dresden, Cologne, Magdeburg, Düsseldorf, Berlin, Munich, Frankfort, Breslau, Karlsruhe, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Prague, Vienna and Gratz. This was in one winter, and he has spent his vacations, etc., in this way since 1909.

other opinion freely held among them is that "die Religion ist ja keine Wissenschaft" ("Religion is not a science"), and a branch of learning which is not an exact science excites little respect among educated Germans.

Another factor which the observer misses in German life is the absence of "Old Boys' Associations." You will look for them in vain, because all Germans look back to their schooldays, schools and their masters with every other feeling but that of affection. There is practically no patriotism for the old school, and neither Heads nor masters keep in touch with their former pupils. The latter seem glad that they have done with it, while the former are busy in forcing other human egos into the mould approved by the State for making educated men.

In all German universities there are students' clubs known as corps, etc. Large numbers of schoolboys cherish an ardent longing to become one day a member of such a corps. The formation of similar societies in the schools is very strictly forbidden. Masters are always on the look-out for evidence of their existence, which, if discovered, will certainly cause some expulsions. Still, these societies exist in every large school, and the low cunning practised in carrying them on is certainly an excellent training for the German diplomat or strategist. The members are schoolboys between the ages of sixteen and nineteen; they meet generally in a private room at a se-

cluded inn. There they fence or imitate the much-envied student in beer-drinking and sometimes in duelling affairs.

The vice-principal of a certain school, while complaining to the author about the absence of truthfulness and the lack of frankness in German boys, spoke openly on the question of these secret clubs. He said that putting boys on their word of honour did not help them in their investigations for proof that such a club exists. The boys have countered the word-of-honour test in the first statute of rules; its purport is as follows: "The moment in which this club is discovered by those in authority, the society ceases to exist." By this artifice a member who is questioned as to the club's existence can truthfully swear that it does not exist. In one European country, at least, the lesson has been well learned —"to be harmless as doves but more artful than serpents."

Although the writer is a sincere admirer of Germany's splendid system of schools, he deplores just as sincerely many of their aims, together with the tone which prevails in them. In lecturing to German teachers he has expressed his criticism in this form: "You lay too much stress on the verb *können*" (to be able, to know) "and you neglect the verb *sein*" (to be, *i.e.*, character). That is undoubtedly the root of the whole evil.

A century ago the Germans emerged from serfdom, and for that unripe human material Germany

has built up a great system of institutions, which impart knowledge, irrespective of the individual's capability of receiving and assimilating it. It would be unwise to graft an Eton and Oxford education on every street waif or son of the fields. That is exactly what Germany for nearly a century has been doing *en masse*. The superstructure is too splendid and heavy for its foundations, with this result — Germans individually and collectively are suffering from too much knowledge without the necessary character to balance it, or, in everyday language, Germany is suffering from " swelled-head."

Before leaving this subject it is necessary to add that every young fellow who enters the civil service as a master in a State school must take the oath of allegiance to King and State, and furthermore he swears not to divulge the happenings of school life. This oath has been administered to young candidates in the writer's presence on several occasions. School happenings are termed *Amtsgeheimnisse* (secrets of office), and the rector of a school when administering the oath especially enjoined upon the young men the wisdom of having nothing to do with the press. Truly the German loves secrecy as the mole under the earth loves darkness.

CHAPTER III

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES — HIGH-SCHOOLS OF KULTUR AND BRUTALITY

THERE is no boast which falls more often from German lips than that they are the most educated people in the world. With justice they are proud of their school system and like to talk about it, but if mention is made of their twenty-two universities, the average German takes a deep breath before discussing the *Hochschulen,* in order to accord such a sacred subject the honour which is due to it.

The author well remembers how his Nuremberg friends looked upon him with a special kind of awe after his appointment to a German university had been notified in the Press of the Fatherland. They seemed to look upon this as an honour second only to one which can fall to the lot of man — the excepted dignity being, of course, the officer's uniform.

Bavaria, with a population not exceeding seven millions, supports three universities — two with a Catholic and one (Erlangen) with a Protestant Faculty of Theology. In these three there are — in times of peace — about ten thousand students, while the remaining German States support universities containing roughly fifty thousand students.

Without any fear of contradiction it may be said that Germany easily holds the record for turning out "university men." On the whole the various States spare no expense [1] whatever in making these institutions the finest in the world, with the result that in medicine, experimental science and so on, the institutes have become models for other countries.

Failing the opportunity to become an officer, there is perhaps no more ardent desire in the heart of young Germany than to go to a university. There are many facilities to this end, for with care the student — unless he is studying law or medicine — can manage to squeeze through on £50 to £60 a year. Large numbers keep themselves going by giving private lessons, while not a few are supported by waitresses, whom they afterwards marry — or leave in the lurch, to marry a girl with a dowry.

Such advertisements as the following are quite common in the newspapers:

Student (medical), smart-looking and gentlemanly, seeks the acquaintance of a lady with means, who will enable him to complete his studies. A lady with a regrettable incident in her past not excluded. Marriage later a matter of honour. Apply Box 99.

Notwithstanding such instances as the above, large numbers of young fellows may be met who live hard,

[1] I have a letter from a German professor before me, dated December 13th, 1914. He states that the Bavarian Government had just granted the funds for building a new Technological-Chemistry Institute in Erlangen. Thus even in war-time the Government intends to see that the universities do not go short.

studious lives, whose pluck and self-denial (although compulsory) deserve unstinted admiration. On the other hand, not a few become hardened beer-drinkers, confirmed loafers, petty criminals, stealing books, platinum, etc., from the various institutes, or lose themselves utterly in the primrose paths of dalliance.

Many families give their addresses to the Vice-Chancellor, signifying their willingness to give poor students free meals on one or more days of the week.

A considerable number of bursaries are at the disposition of the Senate to help poor men, so that if the "lame dog" fails to get over the stile it may be largely his own fault. Out of fourteen hundred students at Erlangen no fewer than thirty per cent. were receiving charitable assistance of one kind or another.

The German student does not live in a palatial college, oppressed by the financial worry of having to live in the same style as his comrades. He can hire a room where he pleases, and board himself according to his purse, yet there are thousands of men who leave the universities with their future income pledged for years in advance, which doubtless provides a further incentive in the search for a wife with means.

The men are truly a motley crowd, containing a large percentage from quite poor homes, the sons of lower officials in the post and railway services, small tradesmen, elementary teachers, caretakers, commissionaires, etc.

Sons of officials in the State service can always get

the fees reduced; the sons of the clergy seldom pay more than a fifth, while the children of professors in the universities never pay any fees at all. College fees, too, are ridiculously small to our ideas. A man studying philosophy, history, languages or physical science pays four or five shillings per hour for the whole term. If he enters his name for courses of lectures totalling twenty-five hours in the week he will pay either £5 or £6 for the whole term's lectures. There are only two terms in the academic year.

The consequence of making a university career so cheap has been that more men have flocked to the learned professions than the latter could absorb, with the result that they are sadly overcrowded. The Bavarian Government has issued repeated warnings in recent years to keep men from going to the universities.

In the case of teachers employed in State Secondary Schools, the Government published a notice within the last twelve months announcing that there were enough university-trained teachers waiting for appointments to cover the demand for at least ten years; *i.e.*, a young man who completed his university course in 1914 could only hope for a civil service post in 1924.

The sentiment has been freely expressed in academic circles that a war is necessary to thin matters out a little. Not only is Germany suffering from over-production of intellectual material, but she is

suffering from what is dubbed "ein akademisches Proletariat." That is to say, thousands of young fellows who lack good breeding, who have never felt the best influences of a good home, crowd the universities, where they are crammed with learning, but do not acquire the good tone of a gentleman. The university has nothing to do with such contemptible details as good form, tone or refinement of character. Its high mission is purely intellectual, in spite of the motto over its portals, *Veritate, humanitate et virtute.*

After a long and close connection with their academic life it seems to the writer that German conceptions of these qualities are fundamentally different from those accepted in England. Perhaps they are right and we are wrong! Who knows? The one and only aim seems to be — create big brains and fill them.

Only a year ago a member of one of Germany's noblest families was heard to deplore the absence of refinement, distinguished manners and high ideals of living which characterizes the German professor's family life. He spoke with truth, for these things have become too trivial for men of learning. Often enough they are lighthouses of knowledge in an unenlightened world, but rarely, very rarely indeed, men of noble character whose influence on those around them has the effect of that subtle, ethical force which we call goodness. Students take the same

view in practice, and their admiration for a professor is in proportion to his intellectual achievements, not his moral worth. Many of these gentlemen who, in the author's judgment, seemed estimable men, had no following, while others, whose works were talked of throughout the world, were heroes to the students, although most Englishmen would hesitate to invite them into their homes.[2]

These words, however, will suffice to show that professorial influence makes itself felt in one direction only — towards intellectualism and materialism. As a body they are openly contemptuous and hostile both to the forms and spirit of religion; even on royal birthdays, when the whole staff is invited to attend divine service, not five per cent. troubles to go, those being mostly office-bearers.

Professors of Divinity stand alone, intellectually isolated, and to a certain extent, socially. One ardent disciple of Treitschke told the writer that all "the wretched theologians ought to be cleared out of the universities, as Divinity is no science, but merely an Irish stew of superstition and ignorance."

[2] A few years ago a distinguished professor of ancient history jokingly suggested that I should write a book entitled, "In a Small University Town," as a sort of corollary to Lieutenant Bilse's work, "In a Small Garrison." The latter work unfolds a lurid picture of life in the German Army, especially of the pettiness and immorality prevailing in officers' circles. If the excavator of Numantia really meant that such material is at hand in small or large German university towns, I quite agree with him, but must decline the honour (?) obtainable by committing it to paper.

Another, a brilliant exponent of ethics as well as the German biographer of Carlyle, expressed the opinion that, if he were compelled to choose a religion at all, his choice would fall on Buddhism as the only one of them which was not entirely insulting to man's reason. Religion is something for *das Volk,* to quote the phrase which educated Germans invariably use when expressing their lofty contempt for the less favoured constituents of their nation.

In the *Times* (December 22nd, 1914) Professor Sayce raises the question of the world's intellectual debt to German professors, which he minimizes. The present writer is inclined to think such an assumption far too drastic to be defensible. In any case the issue is outside the limits of this work; here we have only to examine the position and influence of German professors within the Fatherland, and this, be it remembered, is a position of almost unchallenged authority. Their influence is, as stated above, entirely intellectual and is not restricted to academic circles, but is evident throughout the nation. In sentiment they are, as a class, bitterly Anglophobe, seemingly inspired by the false principle that you must run down your rival's wares in order to puff your own.

The prevailing opinion may be expressed in the words of a Bavarian professor: "I like English manners and modes of life, but I hate the name of political England. The place which destiny has allotted to you in the world prevents our just develop-

ment. Added to which your Statesmen display a fiendish ingenuity in thwarting our peaceful (?) progress."

Their activities are by no means confined to university lecture-halls, for nearly every university has one or more representatives either in the Reichstag or the State Diet. Professor Geiger, of Erlangen, was for many years leader of the South German Liberal Party. The author has heard this gentleman say on more than one occasion, that the German fleet was a menace to England, and that he comprehended perfectly England's alarm at its development.

Not only in Parliament but on the public platform the university professors have done their utmost to cultivate patriotism (which is only their common right and duty). But it must not be forgotten that the German academic world is saturated with the teachings of Treitschke. Nearly every professor of history is a disciple of his; many of them can tell of the days when they had to go at least an hour before time in order to get a seat in Treitschke's Berlin lecture hall. Their hearers are largely men who are appointed later to teach history in the State Secondary Schools; there they pass on to younger pupils what they have imbibed in the university concerning the national idea and future. This enables us to see at a glance how the poison disseminated by Heinrich von Treitschke forty years ago has percolated through to nearly every educated man in the country.

Furthermore, German university professors have resorted — for the most part anonymously — to the press in order to spread their national dreams among the great body of the people. The literature which the German Navy League has spread broadcast throughout the length and breadth of the land has been provided to a very considerable extent by professorial pens, but this was not within the knowledge of the general public. Neither did the readers of pan-German organs imagine that many of the articles on *Weltpolitik* came from the same source; but in order to clinch this matter one definite instance may be cited.

During the excitement in Europe occasioned by the Agadir crisis there was especial glee among Erlangen professors. An article written by one of them was being discussed throughout the country and beyond. Its title was "Endlich ein Schlag" ("A blow at last"), and it appeared in Krupp's organ, *Rheinisch Westfälische Zeitung*. Needless to add, its tenor was warlike and inflammatory to a degree, in short not at all what "the man in the street" would expect from the pen of Dr. Schulten, Professor of Ancient History, the holder of several decorations, Prussian and foreign.

German professors are generally supposed to enjoy absolute freedom in their scientific investigation and teaching. They are expected to seek truth and proclaim it. In some respects this is true to an ex-

tent difficult to find elsewhere. The theologian may announce to the world that the Bible is a collection of fables, Jesus Christ a mere man, and so dilute the teachings of Christianity that they sink to the level of Æsop's Fables. A philosopher like Nietzsche taught the morality of the farmyard and the divine right of brute force from the dignified position of a professor's chair. Nevertheless there are limitations to this seeming liberty, but the restrictions are so vital as to make it valueless in the domain where it is most needed.

The universities are State institutions and every man engaged in them a civil servant. Immediately a man enters upon his duties he receives an invitation from the Academic Registrar to appear at his office and take the oath. In the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and a witness the Registrar reads the oath, which the new-comer then signs. Its terms forbid him to do, write, or say anything subversive to the interests of King and STATE. Thus his political activities and influence can only be exercised in one direction. Should he cherish opinions antagonistic to existing conditions he is very effectively gagged from criticizing the great Moloch — the State. If he had the temerity to break this oath he would brand himself with dishonour, and without doubt court instant dismissal, after which no other State in the Empire would need his services. Even the great lights such as Harnack, Haeckel, Eucken and Brentano have

all signed their names on such "scraps of paper."

In the light of these facts their activity (?) before the war — in omitting to denounce the glaring injustices which stalk in broad daylight in Germany, and their activity after the war began — in appraising German *Kultur* and denouncing England's perfidious barbarism, shows them to be what they really are — paid, obedient servants of the State.

Another lesson has to be drawn, viz., the professors of history may only present German history and aims in a favourable light; they are reduced to the rôle of propagandists or on occasion ruthless perverters of English history and ideals.

Two years ago the playwright, Gerhart Hauptmann, wrote a historical play whose scene was laid in the year 1813. The piece, which was to be an attraction in the Breslau 1913 Centenary Exhibition, presented the Kaiser's ancestor Frederick as a mere puppet in the hands of Napoleon, and Germany's real deliverers to be Stein, Blücher, Gneisenau, etc. This is historically true, but the present Emperor refused to open the exhibition unless the play was abandoned. It *was* abandoned, with a loss of thousands of pounds to the city, a part of which the Kaiser paid out of his own privy purse.

If a comparatively free agent, like the dramatist Hauptmann, may not write historical truth, how much more does that apply to a professor who receives his daily bread from State sources! How,

too, can the professors of law — every university has a Faculty of Law — under whom all the lawyers in the realm must have studied, how can these explore the domains of abstract justice, when the results of their investigations may condemn the existing laws upon which the German State is based? Three years ago Dr. Julius Binder, then Vice-Chancellor of Erlangen University, declaimed in full congregation, that the State is perfectly free to ride over any and every right in asserting its will. No! these gentlemen do not enjoy freedom of thought or speech; their main office is to bolster up the existing conditions from which they themselves live.

Along with the intellectual glamour surrounding the ancient universities of Germany, there is another aspect which has often been described but, perhaps, never critically estimated in its far-reaching influence. At each of these seats of learning the students form themselves into societies or corporations. Such men are styled "Inkorporierten," while all outsiders are dubbed "Obscuranten." These corporations play a most influential part not only in the life of the university but also in the wider sphere of national life. They may be roughly divided into duelling and anti-duelling (or Christian) societies. The influence of the former may be described as entirely baneful.

Several types of these clubs are extant; all those of the same type are affiliated, with central committees possessing certain powers of organization, in-

cluding the right to exclude any single member or club which has offended against the regulations.

First among these corporations are the "Corps." They are wealthy as well as socially *au fait* and generally possess splendid club-houses. Next in power come the "Burschenschaften" (Fellowships), which are, furthermore, political factors. Their members are sworn to chastity during the two years' active membership, which is certainly one ray of light amid the dark, egoistic paganism of German university life.

Lastly, and least important of the three, there are the "Landsmannschaften," the members of which are pledged to give or demand "Satisfaction" in defence of their honour. It is the two former to which most of the following considerations are devoted.

While still at school the elder scholars begin to take sides on the duelling question; before proceeding to the university they have generally decided whether they will enter a corporation at all, and which type attracts them.

Between all kinds of corporations there is more or less active hatred and opposition. A corps student will generally decline an invitation if he knows that members of other incorporated students will be in the company.

Some years ago the students gave a humorous evening for some charitable purpose in Erlangen. After the usual performance there followed a few

hours' dancing, and some young ladies whom we had introduced for that event, danced several times with some "Fellowship" men. They had good friends among the corps students, who, however, ignored their presence!

Young ladies in the district who accept invitations to dances or such-like diversions given by non-corps students may never hope to be invited to any function held in a corps-house. Such are samples of the ridiculous caste spirit which they successfully impose upon modern Germany. Their contempt for members of other clubs is supreme. If a beer-house brawl occurs (which is frequently the case), they will give satisfaction to their opponents with the sword, but do not wear the corps colours during the fray.

At Erlangen there are four Corps (including the oldest in Germany) and four Burschenschaften. Their total active membership is about three hundred, yet their power is enormously out of proportion to their numerical strength. Even a member of the Senate — or even the Senate itself — would think twice before getting into an open conflict with certain of them. In fact far too much is done to conciliate the corps when grievances arise.

During his two years of active membership the student is subject to the rules of his corporation. These include: — unquestioning obedience to its officials; secrecy — so beloved of Germans; eight hours' attendance in the fencing school weekly; he must

fight duels (*Mensur*), when called upon; he must attend a certain number of beer-drinkings (*Kneipe*) weekly; he must parade the chief streets between 5 and 6 p.m., Sunday mornings 11 a.m till 1 p.m. and wear the club colours. In short a great many "musts" are brought to bear upon him, all of which combined go to make a good man into a swaggering bully, without proper respect for the rights of others.

The author is in the unfortunate position of flatly contradicting Kaiser Wilhelm II., who was a member of the "Bonner Borussen" (The Prussians); His Majesty occasionally visits this corps — notorious for its exploits against the inoffensive citizens of Bonn. On one such occasion, May 7th, 1891, the Kaiser, in addressing his "brothers," said: "It is my firm conviction that every young man who joins a corps imbibes the spirit which prevails in it, and that spirit inspires the motives which direct his whole life. It is the best education which a young man can have for his later life. The men who make German corps a butt for their scorn do not know their real tendencies." The Emperor had, no doubt, an appreciative audience, for the Bonner Borussen are all sons of the nobility — Prussian Junkerdom. The members of this corps are certain of a favourable reception at Court, and equally certain to obtain the best appointments in the German State and Army. It is openly stated in the Fatherland that the present Chancellor — Bethmann-Hollweg — has obtained

his office, not by merit, but through the accident that he and the Kaiser are " corps-brothers," which means that both studied brutal self-assertion in the same school.

The beer carousals are one of the lesser evils, though on special occasions they often degenerate into such disgusting orgies that a neighbouring room has to be used as a *Totenkammer* (chamber for the dead), into which the " blind, speechless paralytics " are dragged to sleep off the effects of the libations to Gambrinus.

During his first three years at a German university the writer smothered his disgust to attend the functions of these corporations, and has a thorough knowledge of them. He remembers many decent young fellows whose progress in the school of brutality he was able to observe, till they became vulgar bullies.

All the members of a corporation are on terms of brotherhood and address each other with the familiar *du* (thou). At the end of their first term the young members go through the ordeal known as " burning the foxes." On such occasions ladies may be admitted to the galleries. (In academic life, if women are permitted to take part at all, they are generally relegated to the gallery.) Towards the close of an evening occupied with beer-drinking, toasts, and other formalities, the " foxes " withdraw to the next room and the whole company lines up, leaving a

passage for the foxes to pass through. Everybody is provided with a torch, and at a given signal the first fox comes careering, astride a chair, down between the two lines. During his gallop of some thirty yards he is belaboured on his head and shoulders with the torches. His mad charge comes to an end in the arms of a couple of waiters, who quickly envelop him in wet towels. Sometimes torches are replaced by canes, but the result is the same — the fox is transformed into a *Bruder* or a *Bursche.*

Mention has already been made of the duels commonly called " Bestimmungsmensur," and as these are the fundamental process in brutalizing the men they deserve a more detailed account. They continue throughout term-time on Wednesdays and Saturdays and are held in country inns or town beer houses, or even in forest glades. No burning wrong or biting insult is necessary to set their machinery in motion.

One corporation calmly invites another — though always of the same type — to put up ten men or more on a stated day. The invitation is promptly accepted and a rendezvous chosen. On such days one may see brakes full of students leisurely leaving the town. The police see them — the man in the street too — but although the whole procedure is an open contravention of the country's laws, nobody dreams of interfering. In fact people often follow to look on at the " sport." Next day or even on the same evening you may see the heroes parading the

street in black skull-caps and ostentatious bandages round cheek and head; that first parade is one of the proudest, happiest moments in the life of a corps-student!

Let us look for a moment at the *Mensur*. It is a small hall with a confined space in the centre. Walls, ceiling and floor are stained with the evidences of past encounters. Two wooden figures, standing in a preposterous attitude, face each other with long swords raised above their heads, which clash at the command "Los!" Every head in the crowded, smoky, beery atmosphere is turned towards the opponents, who proceed to hack each other's heads and faces according to the regulations.

There is no excitement, only callous blood-lust displayed; after each round the weapons are disinfected, and when one man has lost enough blood or is so injured that his skill deteriorates, his friends withdraw him. Two other combatants begin anew and after them still more from early morning till evening. Opponents are often personal friends, but that makes no difference to the etiquette — which demands absolute politeness to each other. Feelings may not enter into the affair — the ideal duellist, under these conditions, is an animated block of wood.

During his two years' active service every member must attend on such occasions whether he is fighting or not. There is no romance, no animosity on either side; it is simply a blood orgy, with little danger

to the participants — but numerous later benefits!

Casualties are rare, and when a death ensues it is generally caused by something as prosaic as blood-poisoning. Yet these are among the most cherished and revered customs in Germany. The young man who has obtained his blood-degree is society's darling. Even if his academic degree be a third class and his general ability below mediocre, still his corps-brothers in high places will look after him.

We must not forget that the graduates in the school of blood do occupy high places in diplomacy, in the army and navy, in short, in every branch of public life. It is, in fact, men from the schools of brutality who have ruled Germany's destinies for over half a century. Their code of honour is to smile and bow while engaged in hacking a friend to pieces: it is the *non plus ultra* of playing the game on Teutonic lines.

Every year each corporation publishes a report of its proceedings; these publications are strictly secret, being only issued to active and past members. The author had the good fortune to read some published by the most famous *Burschenschaft* in the Fatherland, viz., " die Germania," Erlangen. Besides reports of the various festivities, they contained accounts of the *Mensur* fought during the year.

In addition to these formal affairs, the duels fought in defence of " honour " were tabulated, together with the quarrels which gave rise to them.

There were formal descriptions of how Herr X. Y. felt himself aggrieved by Herr A. B. on the occasion of some village fair or other. On receiving no satisfactory explanation of A. B.'s behaviour (staring or some other ridiculous pretext), X. Y. boxed the other man's ears, exchanged cards, referred the affair to a court of honour, and received satisfaction. (We will hope that X. Y. was really satisfied!) Several pages of printed matter were necessary to recount the Germania's heroic deeds performed in one year; these deeds included such exploits as spitting or being spat upon, boxing somebody's ears, or having one's face smacked — Teutonic amenities among German gentlemen!

German ladies literally scramble in their endeavours to get their daughters' names on the invitation lists of these corporations, which exercise a petty social tyranny. (Germans from the top to the bottom of the social ladder submit all their lives to more or less tyranny, sustaining themselves with the hope of becoming tyrants too.)

An amazing side of the social functions given by the students' corporations, and which Germans consider it such an honour to attend, is that the guests must pay for all the refreshments they consume, which means that the hosts derive considerable profit from their guests' corporeal appetites.

It is evident that if the fair sex display such eagerness to share the company of these "supermen"

they cannot expect that chivalrous respect which womanhood should inspire. The writer could recount endless episodes to illustrate the odious bad manners which prevail among incorporated students; but let one instance suffice.

On the day after the "foxes" have been burned, all the members of the club march through the town to visit any old members (Philister) who may reside in it. Lavish hospitality is provided for them, and at the close of the day few of them are free from the influence of alcohol. On these occasions there is the usual horseplay which young fellows out for a spree are permitted to indulge in; it is sometimes funny, sometimes exceedingly coarse.

The round includes a visit to the State Secondary School, where sundry windows are smashed with such harmless missiles as oranges.

A few years ago, while the staff of the Erlangen Gymnasium was sitting in solemn conclave, an orange, thrown by a member of Germany's oldest corps (Onoldia), smashed the spectacles of one of the masters. The Vice-Principal of the school took it upon himself to protest in terms fitting the occasion. The corps was highly indignant that a Vice-Principal, above all a Roman Catholic, should dare to scold them for their ill-behaviour, and threatened dire revenge. Luckily Dr. W. received a friendly hint that members of the Onoldia intended to waylay him one dark night in order to wipe out the insult by adminis-

tering a thrashing. This heroic deed was fortunately frustrated by the gentleman in question taking the necessary precautions.

Failing to execute their revenge upon a man, the corporation proceeded in true German fashion to vent their spleen upon a woman. Dr. W.'s daughter, a girl of seventeen, had to pass the Onoldia corps-house on her shopping expeditions. These opportunities the " corps-brothers " used to wound her religious susceptibilities; as the young lady passed the heroes lined up to chant the *Ave Maria.* Her father told the author that he did not complain to the Senate, because he knew where the sympathies of those in power lay, for many of the professors had been corps-students themselves. He treated such behaviour with the contempt which it deserved. Unfortunately conduct of this kind, and the petty, spiteful spirit which feels no dishonour in molesting a woman, is only too common among the under-graduates in the school for bullies.

In summoning up this most important side of German life, it is only fair to state that German ideals are different to those pursued in British universities. Freed from the iron discipline of the school, the young German plunges into *die akademische Freiheit* (academic liberty), which permits him to do as he likes, assuming that he does not break the eleventh commandment.[3] Removed from the restraint of

[3] *Lass dich nicht erwischen!* (Do not get caught!)

home and its influences — and good home influences are rare in modern Germany — the student finds himself in an atmosphere of intellectual materialism from which religious and moral forces have been banished. In this world he soon discovers that to be a hero he must belong to the fighting, swaggering, drinking, Don Juan class. He brings no sporting instincts from the school and acquires none at the university.[4]

The man is thrown entirely upon himself; not even his social instincts are catered for except in the corporations and by public houses and beer-gardens. Professors seldom invite the students to their homes, but even then the intercourse lacks all bonds of human sympathy. It would seem that the chief aim of German professors is to get large numbers of students, so that their college fees are increased in proportion; but the moral, spiritual or social welfare of their pupils are matters entirely beneath their dignity.

It has already been pointed out that German professors are dependent upon the State as it exists today, and it would be invidious to hope that they will emulate Samson in pulling down the pillars of the edifice.

[4] Last July (1914) about twenty students took part in the academic sports held in Erlangen. There were nearly one thousand four hundred students enrolled during that term, and these numbers give a very correct idea of the popularity of open-air sports among German students.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION IN THE FATHERLAND

IN a nation, as in the individual, there are forces for good and evil; unless the former predominate, or are at least sufficiently powerful to neutralize the tendency to evil-doing, we may expect a criminal outbreak. Before a man sinks to the level known as criminal, a psychological change goes on in him before he reaches the "frame of mind" which prompts him to become either a burglar or murderer: that is to say — supposing, of course, that the higher instincts have existed in him — that the balance of those forces which tell for good and evil has been disturbed. In the same way the ballast of good in a nation may be displaced or even thrown overboard. Just as the individual may lose the power of distinguishing between right and wrong, or his mental state may become such, that he prefers the wrong, so it is too in the case of nations. National conscience may contract the same diseases as that of an individual. In order to explain Germany's national crime in precipitating the present world war, it is necessary to suppose that the forces for good in the nation had succumbed to those which

lead to evil; in some manner, more or less easy to trace, the national conscience had been perverted; the predisposition to criminality must have been present, or, in other words, Germany had arrived at a state of mind similar to that found in a criminal, who commits burglary with violence.

Of all the forces which tend to increase the amount of positive good in a nation and to combat inclinations to evil, religion undoubtedly stands pre-eminent. It is the author's endeavour in the present chapter to show that this factor for good has become non-effective in the national life of Germany, that this divine influence has been — to use a German idiom taken from the electrical world — "switched off."

In his essay on Martin Luther ("Heroes and Hero-Worship") Thomas Carlyle maintains that "a man's religion is the most important thing about him"; who would dispute that this dictum does not apply with equal truth to a community of men? The term religion must, however, be interpreted in a much wider sense than a mere creed, rather as the power to distinguish between right and wrong and the will to do right. A nation's religion should include its ideals of action and being, together with the "national conscience," which, after all, is the sum total of myriads of individual consciences. An average of all the good and evil in all the units making up the nation would exactly give the national

conscience, and this should be "the gleam" which acts as a guiding light to national doings.

Since St. Boniface introduced Christianity into Germany its doctrines have had a remarkable history. But to anyone who has observed the religious life of modern Germany it would seem that the passing centuries have only served to extract the spirit of Christ from his teachings, leaving only the outer husk — the dry bones of dogma and formality. Bones which still excite never-ending strife and contention, although every vestige of the meat of grace has long since disappeared.

German genius is the genius of order and organization. Every department in the great national bee-hive is organized — including the one for religion — and here the organization genius has run amuck! The essential part, the spiritual, ethical or divine element, is an intangible something which defies human organization.

Germany has not succeeded in taming and organizing "the wind which bloweth where it listeth, and no man knows whence it cometh or whither it goeth." She has, however, succeeded in building up a wonderfully well-ordered State Church. Each separate German State manages its own internal affairs: therefore in each capital — Berlin, Munich, Dresden, etc.— there is a government office which arranges the church and school affairs of the State in question. Its official title is *das Ministerium für*

Kirchen- und Schulangelegenheiten, or it is often styled *das Kultusministerium.* The chief of this office is in most cases a lawyer and a member of the cabinet. The Minister for Culture represents the Church or rather Churches — because both the Protestant and Catholic confessions are under his paternal care — in parliament.

The Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Anglican forms of faith are permitted all over Germany, while the two first are established and supported out of the public funds. If any part of the public desires to enter heaven by any other than by the Lutheran or Roman Catholic paths, they must obtain permission from the Minister for Church and School affairs. That gentleman has the power to admit or exclude any new faith from his domains. In Prussia various sects have already established themselves, but in Bavaria only Methodism has so far succeeded in getting a foothold.

Some years ago the Salvation Army petitioned for the right to hold services in Bavaria. There was consternation in the divinity dovecots at the universities, and Professor Dr. Theodor von Kolde,[1] a leading light of the Lutheran Church, professor of historical religion at Erlangen University, a ponderous divine without either wit, humour or piety,

[1] The writer was for seven years personally acquainted with this gentleman, and could conscientiously give him a first-class certificate for fanatical bigotry, notwithstanding his boasted friendship with Bishop Creighton.

wrote a stodgy work on the Salvation Army, with the result that the Minister for Culture at Munich refused to let loose such a dangerous heretical army upon the Bavarian faithful. Without exaggeration this serves as a typical example of the manner in which the Cabinet Minister combines with his servants, the Professors of Theology, to prevent wolves from entering the Lutheran or Roman Catholic sheep-fold; further it defines very exactly the meaning of " liberty of conscience " as understood among Germans.

Within the pale of the Churches this Minister's authority is practically unlimited; the same is true of the State Universities and Secondary Schools. He controls the purse-strings and no appointment is valid without his consent; indeed most livings are in his gift. Next to him in power and influence are the Professors of Divinity and the Consistorium, or Church Council.

Members of this Council receive much higher salaries than pastors and a great part of their time is devoted to organization; these are the highest positions in the Lutheran Church and to a certain extent correspond to the bishoprics in the Roman Church. But all of these down to the humblest curate receive their appointments, livings, etc., from the *Kultusminister,* whose disciplinary powers are just as far-reaching in his domain as the Minister for War's in the German army.

Thus the German Church is guided by a sort of trinity: God, who is the virtual head, the Kaiser, its nominal chief, aided by the Minister for Worship and Education, who in reality is its supreme head.

The rank and file of the ministry are gentlemen who certainly command personal respect. A German *Pfarrer* is a good family man, a good companion in the Biergarten, learned in his particular branch of knowledge, mildly interested in social, political and scientific problems, exceedingly discreet in his utterances, profoundly respectful to the powers-that-be, with a leaning to reverence for the State — especially that part of it known as the *Offizierskorps*. In short he is a quiet, orderly member of society, neither harmful nor a great power for good, a colourless neutral, but above all, a well-disciplined German civil servant. He was not cast in the mould which produces leaders of thought or action — the mantle of Martin Luther has not fallen on him. It would be unjust to question his goodness, but it is of the mild, obedient kind tolerated by the German State. With regard to the rights and liberties of German clergy, we can hear no higher authority than the Kaiser, who is the head of the Lutheran Church. On February 28th, 1896, Wilhelm II. telegraphed to Herr Hintzpeter concerning the downfall of Pfarrer Stöcker in the following terms: "Stöcker is finished, as I prophesied years ago. Political parsons are an absurdity. The man

who is a Christian is also a Socialist. Christian Socialism is nonsense which leads to intolerance and presumption, both of which are diametrically opposed to Christianity. The parsons must look after the souls of their flocks, cultivate neighbourly love. But they must leave politics alone, for it does not concern them in the least."

It is to be regretted that the deputations of German clergy who visited this country in the interests of peace did not proclaim their master's opinion on their political activities, and it is still more regrettable that English people attached any importance to these gentlemen. They were not empowered to make peace with England; they had no influence whatever on the course of events in Germany, and the only mission which they could perform was to strew dust in English eyes. Since the war commenced they have again mingled in politics by strewing the " dust of manifestoes," doubtless in the hope that both England and America still contain credulous dupes. It is to be hoped that their former dupes have learned the lesson that the Kaiser does not permit them to denounce any of the thousand evils which adorned Germany in peace nor the atrocities which have disgraced her in war.

When the pastor enters the Church his first duty — from which all succeeding duties as pastor or citizen depend — is to take the oath of allegiance (including obedience) to his King AND THE STATE.

This oath if observed, and it must be observed, is an effectual fetter on any latent reform or revolutionary tendencies. Hence he is seldom a "voice crying in the wilderness," and still more rarely is he anything but what his masters expect him to be — an obedient member of the great system, a minion of the German State. From the State he receives his daily bread as well as his "call" to heavenly ministrations. The State can cut off the former and prevent his continuing the latter, and the State knows that with very few exceptions the *Pfarrer* cannot afford to forgo the bread which it doles out to him.

A large proportion of the divinity students in German Universities are already under considerable obligations to the State; many have received assistance during the nine years spent in the secondary school, and many receive financial help from the authorities during the university period. Unfortunately these men do not obtain the respect from their fellow students which they deserve, while divinity as a branch of knowledge [2] inspires still less esteem.

The great majority of divinity students come from humble families. Divinity is looked upon as a *Brodstudium* (bread-study), and its disciples command the minimum of respect in the social scale.

[2] Seventy years ago Strauss declared Theology to be a production of the imagination and not a science or branch of human knowledge. Many German professors would gladly see the "Faculties of Theology" swept from their universities. Not a few of the people hold similar opinions.

Most of them drink the prescribed quantities of beer, some fight duels, while all are compelled by circumstances as well as previous training to work hard. They have their societies (*Verbindungen*), give dances and other social amusements, but young ladies who consider themselves somewhat superior do not accept invitations to these affairs, for in that case their names would be struck off the invitation lists of the *élite* circles in academic life — the duelling corps. Altogether the divinity student's position inclines him to the humbleness of Uriah Heep, and although he seems happy enough — he is young — his lot is not quite an enviable one — cramped in his means of sustenance, diligently engaged in the pursuit of learning, tolerated in *besseren Kreisen,* servile to the powers-that-be, and not infrequently a victim to one of the supreme passions of German character, viz., the love of humiliating one's fellow men. Germans are invertebrates in the presence of superiors, but all alike possess the lust of bullying — *die Freude jemand zu erniedrigen.* It is well known that members of the duelling corps plan excursions into the haunts of this more peaceably inclined section of the academic community, in order to affront them with insults or even blows. This sport is tolerably cheap and safe, for most divinity students are anti-duellists. If the archives of the "Committees for Discipline" in German universities were made public they would prove that hundreds of cases of

bullying occur annually. The incorporated students, adherents of the duelling cult, cherish a supreme contempt for their poorer — hence weaker — comrades.

One case will suffice to show how the authorities themselves bow down before these supermen. Formerly academic festivities were celebrated in a common assembly to which all professors and students were invited, e.g., the Kaiser's birthday. But now the fighting corps refuse to appear officially when the Christian societies are present. In former years an annual *akademicshe Kneipe* (academic beer festival) was held in Erlangen market-place, but it had to be dropped on account of these very feuds. On festive occasions the Senate is compelled to exercise all its diplomacy in placating the corps and smoothing out the differences which separate the two camps.

After some five or six years the future pastor passes his examination and leaves the university to enter the Church. Needless to say, he is out of touch with humanity and understandeth not the problems and burning questions which go to make — life! In the first place he serves the State and secondly his God.[3] The result is obvious — Germany is full of empty churches; the people may, or may not, call for bread, but it is certain they get only a spiritual stone. Tolerated at the university, he is

[3] The missionary who tried to blow up a British ship on the West Coast of Africa said: "First I am a German, then a Christian."

seldom more than tolerated in after life, and in the "thoughts that move mankind" as well as in the forming of public opinion, for all practical purposes he is a negligible quantity — he is a civil servant.

When the *Kultusminister* pulls the strings the figures move and write manifestoes against England's barbarism! But the author has never heard of the German pulpit being employed in denunciation of the crying injustice caused in the Fatherland by militarism, to mention only one of many evils which might well serve as themes for ecclesiastical eloquence.

The present writer cannot vouch for its truth, but he has often heard it quoted as one of Bismarck's sayings: "Religion is only meant for women and children." In any case it very aptly describes Germany's conception of religion when put into practice, and the composition of congregations — except in Catholic districts — confirms this opinion.

Piety is a feeling too low for the German intellect; it is a mental condition which arouses pity or contempt in him; the Englishman going to church with his Bible or prayer-book is known to millions of Teutons as the limit in either stupidity or hypocrisy. Still, if you ask a German what his religion is, he will in most cases answer either *Evangelisch* or *Catholisch*. Indeed, all Germans, young and old, have a religion, that is to say they are registered at the Town Hall as being Protestant, Catholic or Jew,

and pay a yearly tax to one of these confessions. In return the State looks after their religion in this life and presumably in that which is to come. Furthermore, nobody under the age of twenty-one is capable of judging for himself; whatever his parents were registered as — that he must remain till he is of age. Should an adult become a convert of another Church, e.g., a Protestant wish to enter the Roman Catholic Church, then a written permit must be obtained from his previous pastor, without which the other Church may not receive him. The change is duly notified at the Town Hall.

After the Reformation, Protestants and Catholics in Germany amused themselves for a century in virulent abuse and recrimination, which from 1618 till 1648 developed into a bloodthirsty war. The bitter antagonism of the Thirty Years' War has never been extinguished; even to-day the work of Christ's Church is effectually paralysed there by strife — both theological and political. Employers advertise in all cases for employees of their own faith; the purchasing public will not buy at this or that shop because the proprietor is a Jew or Catholic, and so on *ad nauseam*.

But perhaps the most forcible indictment of Germany's national religion is the fact that her ancient churches and cathedrals are renovated, and her new ones built, with money gained by State lotteries. The windows of officially recognized "Lottery

Shops" always contain tickets for the building or renovating of churches. The method is briefly this. Should a new district require a church, the local Church Council applies to the *Kultusminister* for permission to hold a lottery. If there are not too many lotteries running, permission is granted, or it may be deferred for a time till the competition between the various charities is favourable to a new venture. Then about two hundred thousand tickets are printed, stating the object in view and mostly giving a view of the church to be benefited. The tickets are next circulated among lottery dealers, who retail them to the public at the price printed on the front — generally three shillings and threepence. The odd threepence is a tax for the benefit of the State.

About one ticket in twenty-five can win a prize. Prizes in cash vary from £3,500 down to a crown, but in most lotteries there are only about ten prizes of a higher value than £50. On an average only 4 per cent. of the tickets win prizes at all; the great majority of these have only a value of 5s. and 10s., hence the big prize is the decoy bird. Lotteries are organized betting; the chances are roughly 100 to 4 that a bet of 3s. 3d. may win a 5s. or 10s. prize, representing a net gain of roughly 2s. or 7s., while the odds are 200,000 to 1 against the gambler gaining the £3,500 prize. To Englishmen it would thus seem that German churches have become bookmak-

ers on a large scale. The ethics of such a system may be left to the personal opinion of individual readers; the author only desires to state that this appeal to the lowest human instinct has not secured the Church in the hearts or imaginations of the German people. Among the poor, gambling in lottery tickets has become universal, although there are in all probability no great social evils resulting from it. The point to be emphasized here, however, is that German churches are built and renovated by wholesale gambling with "the man in the street," and this is valuable evidence of the extent to which materialism has blunted the national idealism, when religion, whose greatest good has ever been achieved by arousing the imagination, struts in the loud check-suit of the bookmaker. It is further of interest to note that "the man in the street" rarely troubles himself to inspect the "House of God" which his little bet has helped to build.

Religion occupies no unimportant place in German school life. There are clergymen attached to every inspecting authority for elementary schools, a state of things generally condemned by the teachers. In all higher schools religious knowledge is imparted by clergymen (*Pfarrer*) specially appointed for this duty. A certain amount of latitude has been permitted to parents in deciding whether their children should receive religious instruction or not. This freedom is very essentially curtailed, however, by

other existing conditions. In the final examination which admits a youth to the university, divinity is a compulsory subject; no candidate for any branch of the civil service could hope for admission if he were not a member of some recognized Church — the Jewish faith being the least welcome. Last year the Bavarian Government went a step further in declaring that no boy or girl could be admitted to a State school without participating in some form of religious instruction recognized by the Board for Church and School Affairs.

There is indeed no lack of evidence to show that the ecclesiastical authorities recognize that the Church has lost its hold upon the nation in general, and are redoubling their efforts to influence the young during their school days.[4] But it may be doubted whether these bureaucratic endeavours will succeed in winning the nation back to its allegiance to God. The two religious camps — Roman Catholic and Lutheran — are still engaged in bitter hostilities against each other, and in mutual aggression against other faiths — the school is only one more battlefield for them.[5]

Another national force has to be reckoned with

[4] Fritz Berolzheimer writes in his "Moral und Gesellschaft": "In all classes the adult population is quite indifferent to religion."

[5] At the commencement of the school-year the educational authorities publish statistics in every district regarding the religion of all children who have just entered the schools. There is considerable zeal among the priesthood of each Church to swell the number which represent their particular faith.

in religious matters — the Social Democratic Party. Numerically this is the strongest party in the Imperial Parliament. During the last decade certain Englishmen, including Messrs. Keir Hardie and Ramsay Macdonald, have endeavoured to raise English hopes of peace by promises of what this party could and would do to prevent war. These gentlemen were no doubt honest in their convictions, but events have shown that their convictions were based upon ignorance of Germany and the German people. A most elementary knowledge of German conditions and character would have sufficed to convince any man of average intelligence that the Social Democrats have no power in Germany — in spite of 4,250,000 votes; further, that hatred and suspicion of England is just as wide-spread among German Social Democracy as any other section of the German nation. Their battle against autocracy as well as their endeavours to improve the lot of the working classes are objects for which we may rightly feel sincere sympathy, but their avowed hostility to religion and the moral laws which hold the community together arouse our bitterest antagonism. It is an error to imagine that the ideals pursued by Christian Socialists are identical with those of the German Social Democrats; in regard to religion and morality they are diametrically opposite. Their official organs not infrequently contain articles bordering upon the blasphemous. Critical comment upon

Christianity is permitted even in Germany, but Social Democratic papers are seldom critical when dealing with religion; on the other hand they are frankly scornful and abusive.

Just as the ecclesiastical authorities are endeavouring to get hold of Germany's youth in the schools, the Social Democratic party is trying to nullify the religious teaching imparted in the schools by giving anti-religious instruction in classes specially arranged for that purpose. To further this work a special literature for the young, including a catechism, has been written and diligently circulated among the children of the working classes. Its tendency is to arouse feelings of revolt against their condition in life and the Great Ruler of the world who permits these conditions. But the whole tone is such that the young mind has no difficulty in drawing the conclusion that there is no God — or these things would not be.

The action of the Roman Catholic Church may be cited as evidence that that body is fully alive to the atheistic tendencies of German Social Democracy. Not only in Parliament and in the Press and on the political platform, but also in economic questions the Catholic Church has declared war to the knife against this movement. In order to keep members of that Church from any kind of contact with this party she has organized special trade unions for Catholics. These *Katholische Arbeiterverbände*

have in some districts — particularly Westphalia — a large and increasing membership. In striving for greater political freedom and better conditions of life for the working classes the two camps are one, but in respect to their estimation of religion and morality they are bitterly hostile.

Until a few years ago the National Liberals were looked upon as Germany's hope; they are now known as the "Invertebrates." Their alliance, for political ends, with the Social Democrats was one of the reasons which led to their downfall at the last election. Sane people who still cherished religious principles, left a party which could ally itself in any shape or form with the advocates of atheism. Among those who refused to betray their religious convictions by a political alliance was Professor Geiger, leader of the Bavarian National Liberals. This gentleman assured the writer that he could not conscientiously connect himself in any way with a party whose avowed aims were social and religious disruption, consequently he resigned the party leadership.

Yet the Social Democratic Party represents only too truly all that Germany possesses of religion, viz., materialism. Among the higher classes it is philosophic materialism; in the less-favoured strata of the community its practical interpretation — it is only this world's goods which count.

The educated German despises religion, but the

working classes are learning to hate it, if for no other reason than that it is a State religion, ergo — an essential part of the great tyranny which condemns them to civilized servitude.

In order to give more weight to the foregoing statements concerning the Social Democratic Party, the writer proposes to cite a few German authorities. A booklet [6] appeared in Germany twenty-five years ago, its purpose being to refute the programme of the above party as laid down at their Congress in Halle. Hundhausen, its author, draws especial attention to the party's teachings in regard to the family and marriage.

The Social Democrats object to marriage for several reasons. Firstly, it is only an historical institution, and can only be maintained in modern life by widespread prostitution. Secondly, it is an improper interference on the part of the State in the most intimate affairs of the individual. Thirdly, marriage is a hindrance to the realization of their Utopian State, in which the conditions will make marriage entirely superfluous. Hundhausen quotes two writers, including Herr Bebel, the late leader of the Social Democrats. Bebel wrote: "The gratification of sexual desire is purely a personal matter, just as much as the gratification of every other natural appetite." The second writer maintained that

[6] 'Warum wir nicht Social Demokraten sind" ("Why we are not Social Democrats"), by Theodor Hundhausen.

"modern consciousness and modern life make free love absolutely necessary."

Herr Marx, the greatest thinker which the party has produced, founded the above teachings,[7] in fact, none of the party have ever expressed themselves otherwise, therefore we must accept this anti-marriage, anti-moral doctrine as part of their official programme.

At the Halle Congress another leader of the party declared: "Social Democracy fights against every religion and every faith." These were the words of Herr Liebknecht, member of the Reichstag for a Berlin constituency.

Bebel expressed himself in a still more drastic form: "Social Democracy is not only an enemy (*Gegnerin*) of dogmatic faith, but we strive on principle to destroy the need for religion in mankind." Bebel begs the whole question in this sentence, for he has previously accorded licence in the gratification of natural (animal) appetites, but proposes to root out every spiritual desire, although that is surely as much a natural longing as those which he permits.

Professor Diehl treats at considerable length the attitude of Social Democracy to religion. His carefully compiled synopsis of the party's doctrine con-

[7] An excellent work on German Social Democracy is Professor Karl Diehl's university lectures delivered in Freiburg University. The work is entitled: "Socialismus, Kommunismus und Anarchismus." *Vide* p. 163 for Marx' teaching on marriage.

cludes: "For Marx and his followers religion is *the* hostile power against which they must fight. New conditions will arise in the world and religion will disappear of itself; yet the party leaders recognize the widespread religious feeling among the masses. Therefore atheism is not made a condition of membership. Article six of the Social Democratic programme only pledges the member to declare religion to be a private and personal matter." Diehl considers this a mere tactical dodge to enable the lukewarm to join the ranks of the *Genossen* (brothers or comrades).

A very frequently discussed question in Germany during recent years has been: "Can a Christian be a Social Democrat?" Professor Diehl discusses it from his point of view as a Professor of Philosophy, and shows very conclusively that a man who accepts the fundamental idea of German Social Democracy cannot be at the same time a Christian. A conclusion in which the present writer unreservedly concurs.

A few further data will help to define the power of the movement. In 1871, 124,700 Social Democratic votes were recorded; at the Reichstag election in 1912 this number rose to over 4¼ millions. The other important parties recorded, National Liberals, 1,662,000; Roman Catholics (Centrum), 1,996,000; Conservatives (Junker), 1,126,000; Popular Progressives (including several parties), 1,497,000 votes. From which it will be seen that

the Social Democrats had more than twice as many votes as the Roman Catholic party. There is no doubt that if a just re-distribution of seats were introduced, the number of members representing Social Democracy in the Reichstag would increase very considerably. An American author writes;[8] "I know nothing like German Socialism in the politics of other countries. The organization is quite extraordinary."

The parents of to-day do not hope to realize their ideals, but they neglect nothing which may make it possible for their children to attain them. The party possesses no fewer than 200 central circulating libraries, with 77 branches. By these means several million homes are provided with literature, specially written to counteract religious teaching and inculcate Social Democratic dogmas. Even the Kaiser's doctrine of "divine right" has not been overlooked; cleverly written works — carefully worded, so as to escape prosecution for *lèse-majesté* — are in circulation for readers young and old.

In addition to the permanent literature there are seventy-six daily papers and several illustrated periodicals assisting the work, while some fifty publishing houses are owned by members of the party.

The returns for 1912 show that 836,741 men and 130,371 women were enrolled in the party register,

[8] "Monarchical Socialism in Germany," by Elmer Roberts, London, 1913.

i.e., as active members for politcal purposes. The women's Social Democratic journal *die Gleichheit* (Equality) had 107,000 subscribers on its books.

Truly, no mean power! And this weapon has been wielded against the forces of religion and morality, and has achieved much — for the German workman of our time has no reverence for either spiritual or earthly authority. He renders unwilling obedience to the latter, however, for earthly authority does not bear the sword in vain. Against autocracy and German militarism, Social Democracy has also waged war, but achieved nothing! When the autocracy has increased its demands for armaments, then Singer, Liebknecht, Südekum and Co. have on every occasion made a great noise in the Reichstag. They have written columns of useless vituperation (paid at a good rate from party funds); they have held mass meetings of the *Genossen* in all parts of Germany (thereby increasing their own incomes by lecturing fees and expenses), and, lastly, when the vote has been put, they have ignominiously deserted their ideals of international peace by joining the " ayes " or abstaining from voting altogether. In either case the explanation given is the same — tactical reasons.

Let us take one instance only. In 1913, when it was proposed to vote a " special contribution " of fifty million pounds to increase the army, we witnessed the same spectacular agitation throughout

Germany, a movement which must have caused very considerable funds to flow into the pockets of the paid Social Democratic agitators. Then the *débâcle* in Berlin, when the party agreed to support the vote on condition that the richer classes supplied the necessary millions.

Surely this was no war against armaments on principle, but it is a fair specimen of the methods of that party which Messrs. Keir Hardie and Ramsay Macdonald are still asking the British public to look to — even since the war began! These gentlemen are welcome to lean on a "broken reed" if it gives them pleasure, but England will be well advised to rely upon her own strong arm rather than expect help from the German Social Democrats, who have failed to produce any good thing among their own people.

Before leaving this question it is necessary to add that among educated Germans, Social Democracy is in bad odour, even among Liberals and Radicals. Many of the reasons for this have been cited, but one other is the assertion that the party leaders and writers are, with few exceptions, Jews. In other sections of the community they are designated "Jewish parasites," and their chief aim is said to be not revolution, but private profit. Their names, e.g., Marx, Luxembourg, etc., certainly go to prove their Hebrew origin; their motives may be left to the judgment of their contemporaries.

"Those who desire to get a true insight into the danger which Social Democracy means for the Empire, must be quite clear on this point, that the wholesale poisoning of German voters would have been utterly impossible without the help of the Jews. They are the real leaders of the movement and those upon whom the hopes for social destruction rest, belong also to this people." [9]

The spread of Social Democratic teachings in Germany has only tended to increase class-hatred, envy and irreligion, and up to the present the *Genossen* have displayed no vestige of the brotherly feelings which they preach, towards the man who happens to wear a better coat.

Nuremberg and Fürth are great industrial centres, employing many thousands of workmen, many of whom live in the surrounding villages, even so far afield as Erlangen, which is twelve miles distant from Nuremberg. Anyone travelling by the 6.17 p.m. train from Nuremberg to Erlangen during peace times had a splendid opportunity of observing several hundred *Sozis* (German nickname).[10] The train is always overcrowded and any attempt to ventilate meets with violent abuse. Language, conversation and manners illustrate in a forcible manner the gen-

[9] Daniel Freymann's book: "Wenn ich der Kaiser wäre" ("If I were Kaiser"), p. 42.

[10] It is a punishable offence to call any man a *Sozi*, even if he is a Social Democrat.

eral brute level of Germany's lower classes. It is a convenient train for ladies to return by after a day's shopping in the larger city. Woe betide a lady if she is isolated among some fifty of the "brothers." Vile obscenities and filthy songs are bandied about until she changes into another carriage.

The writer has travelled by this train on hundreds of occasions and often witnessed such scenes — treatment to which his own wife has been subjected. A gentleman is only "talked at," especially so if he is suspected of being connected with Erlangen University.

Herr Südekum, the Social Democratic member for Nuremberg, has never been known to read his constituents a lesson on decent behaviour; while the party newspapers give more than a veiled encouragement to this kind of "brotherly" (*genossen-schaftliche*) molestation. All in all, the beautiful theories propagated by the Social Democrats seem to have fallen by the wayside.

Germany, however, deserves the pity of all those who still believe that Christianity is the greatest civilizing force of which this world can boast, for Germany's Christian Church is merely a civil-service department, commanding no one's reverence. The upper classes are intellectual materialists, and the lower ranks the victims of Germany's new religion — Social Democracy.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL CHARACTER AND IDEALS

PERHAPS the most disagreeable surprise which the year of fate, 1914, prepared for the world, was the unmasking of German character — she herself threw away the mask and displayed to the world quite another heart to that with which she had been credited. Like Iago, the military dictator of Europe had not "carried his heart on his sleeve for daws to peck at."

In German schools and universities we have discovered other aims and ideals than those associated with the homes of English culture; equally different too is the ideal of character which is the basis of German national existence.

Only a little more than a century ago serfdom was abolished among Teutons, while the degrading *lex primæ noctis* survived up till 1848. Slavery is acknowledged to be a condition inimical to growth of character, and the German nation is still too young to have thrown off its cramping influence. Added to this, a powerful autocratic government has been able to subject individual rights to its purposes, or rather to prevent those rights from coming into being.

The forces dominating the individual's behaviour and modes of life have operated almost entirely from outside him, restraining and compelling him into a mould preconceived by a higher will — the will of the State. In some walks of life he has been permitted extraordinary latitude, probably as a solace for curtailment in others, but the incontrovertible fact remains that he has never been allowed to become much other than what serves the State's purpose.

This historical development accounts for the readiness with which the German adapts himself to the severest military discipline of modern times, for his uncomplaining surrender of a jewel which was never his — personal liberty.

Germans delight to talk of their *Weltanschauung,* or world-view of life, *i.e.,* the individual's relation to the universe, more particularly, of course, to the defined part of it to which he belongs. This conception directs his outward bearing towards the phenomena designated as the world of sense, and regulates his feeling of responsibility. Teutonic responsibility is almost entirely restricted to those concrete duties demanded of him by the State, which leaves him extensive freedom with regard to ethical responsibility towards his fellow men and the entirety of humanity.

In this system educative forces of incalculable worth have been prevented from exercising their

powers, in the first place upon individual, and ultimately upon national character. In a word, this means blind obedience to the dictates of the State, but licence in regard to his moral obligations to God and man. As a result, unquestioning obedience in "rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's" has become the most characteristic trait in Teutonic character; an ideal above which the intelligence of the masses is quite incapable of raising them. For them the fulfilment of these duties means salvation in this world and the next.

No great nation is free from moral obliquity; in every community there are units which fall under the head "criminal classes," and to judge the whole by these would lead to mere error. A stranger who had only come in contact with the worst elements of East and West London would err if he based his estimate of English character upon these data.

National character is a rough average of all the individual characters which make up the nation, and in order to strike this average their daily acts in the counting-house, street and home must be observed. Attention must be paid to those deeds which receive condemnation or praise from the largest number of citizens. In the process of time an image is formed in the observer's mind representing the standard of right and wrong which regulates the doings between these men. It is the observer's opinion of their national character — and it may be entirely wrong!

Nevertheless, for practical purposes it is necessary to accept the results of these methods, and then it is advisable to average the averages, for the divergence is often such that they form contrasts. Some years back the Anglican Bishop of Northern Europe, in a letter to the *Daily Mail,* expressed the opinion that "the German is the finest gentleman in the world." This divine took the "gentleman"— probably the English variety — as his standard, and found in his investigations that the Teuton is a "perfect gentleman."

The author has applied the same test, although his conception of this ideal may be imperfect, and the absolute idea of a gentleman may be ethically and philosophically wrong in itself, *i.e.,* a wrong standard upon which to model our daily life. Yet even with these limitations the writer's observations led him to form an opinion contrary to the learned Bishop's. Moreover, he is convinced that Germans, with few exceptions, do not look up to either the "gentleman" or the "lady" as ideals to strive after in this life; they do not accept these types in their highest moral conception as models whose virtues individuals should seek to emulate.

It is true, that in exteriors, they have slavishly imitated our "gentleman"— even to a degree of crude exaggeration — his dress and style, the clicking of heels and ceremonious bows, the raising of hats and kissing of hands; even the word "gentleman"

has been added to the German language. But the gentleman whose "conscience is his king," who recognizes the moral, non-compulsory obligations of life as equally binding as the written word, who regulates his life on some standard of duty towards God and his fellow men; this ideal of individual conduct is irreconcilable to the Germanic State. That Moloch would be inconceivable, were it composed of such units.

Private right and conscience must be sacrificed in absolute submission to the State's might; in return the individual receives an "indulgence" covering a multitude of sins in matters not touching the State's almighty will.

Hence the ideal of indivdual character accepted by Germans is seen to be something quite other than that known to us as a "gentleman."

German national character is, in fact, a native growth, an ideal resulting from other conditions, and influenced by another sequence of historical events.

The place of conscience is taken by what a German terms *Ehrgefühl* (feeling of honour). In the prosaic language of common sense this may be classed as morbid egoism or diseased vanity. The German must be accepted at his own valuation or he is insulted.

The ease with which a German may be offended is instructive for our purpose. It is an insult to accord him more than a passing glance; looking at

a man too fixedly in a restaurant or any public haunt may involve the starer in a duel. Student-bullies lusting for combat adopt this method of provoking a fight; possibly because it is the quickest way to hostilities. He calls the process *fixieren* (fixing a man with your eyes), and the aggrieved party will soon demand an explanation for this *Verletzung seines Ehrengefühls* (wounding his honour). An exchange of cards, or an invitation to go outside to have his ears boxed, will follow, then the "affair of honour." Public opinion will applaud both as courageous men of honour, but just as unanimously condemn — even ostracize — the coward who appeals to a court of law for protection.[1]

In Germany insults may be compared (in the grammatical sense), like adjectives. The bad, worse, worst of insults is: a look, a word, a blow; an interpretation confirmed by the German penal code. Calling a man a "fool" or "donkey" [2] may lead to a severe fine, for the German code possesses a law of insult in addition to a law of libel. In every legal district judges, magistrates and lawyers waste innumerable hours in settling such cases, some of which appear in the press — fortunately only a small percentage; still, sufficient to show that

[1] I remember reading in the Augsburg papers of a man being heavily fined for staring at an enemy every time he met him.

[2] *N. B.*— In the presence of a third person who is prepared to affirm on oath.

German character is morbidly sensitive and actively quarrelsome.

The judicial statistics of the German Empire, published by the Imperial Statistics Office in Berlin, amply confirm the quarrelsomeness of Germans. The figures for insult cases are:

Year.	Persons charged.	Number sentenced.
1907	83,013	60,895
1908	82,011	59,830
1909	82,827	59,673
1910	84,058	60,344
1911	86,573	61,899

For insulting and threatening officials, not included in the above figures:

Year.	Persons charged.	Number sentenced.
1907	35,226	27,418
1908	34,453	26,803
1909	32,999	25,677
1910	31,775	24,668
1911	30,466	23,745

The following true story will show how easy it is to insult the tender feelings of an official. Some years ago an English gentleman resident in Nuremberg was absent from the town when the rates and taxes were collected. On his return he learned that the usual fines had been added as a punishment for his remissness. He visited the Tax-Collector, to protest against this treatment. The official informed him that he ought to have given his landlady

power of attorney before going on a holiday, then she could have acted for him. In the discussion the Englishman exclaimed: "Das ist ein Unsinn!" ("That's nonsense!") whereupon he was threatened with an action for *Beamtenbeleidigung* (insult to officialdom). Knowing that such an action would certainly lead to a heavy fine, perhaps imprisonment, he settled the matter by apologizing. Finally the Tax-Collector deigned to accept the apology, and his "honour" was restored to its pristine brightness.

In spite of the elegant outward etiquette which distinguishes the upper classes of Germany, there is beneath these exteriors a striking lack of real consideration for the rights and comforts of others. The German mind seems singularly incapable of looking at things from the other man's point of view, consequently true sympathy is a feeling which he hardly knows.

On the other hand *Liebenswürdigkeit* (kindness) and its corresponding adjectives are words freely interspersed in conversation, but their interpretation in actual life is mostly limited to exaggerated forms of superficial politeness, which are seldom an index of the heart's motives.

Casual tourists in the Fatherland have received these "outward shows" as true coin, but the author has never heard "many-yeared" residents express any other opinion of German social life than that it is hollow, unsatisfying and lonely.

Although the writer counts his German acquaintances by thousands, he is obliged to admit that he suffered from the same feeling of loneliness and isolation during his stay on the other side of the German Ocean. One English lady used to say "she sincerely hoped it would never be her lot to die among the unfeeling Teutons." That lady had lived among them long enough to get below the veneer, to feel the absence of true feeling and to be sensitive of the atmosphere of superficiality, mistrust and hardheartedness which characterizes everyday intercourse.

In both countries the cry has been heard again and again, "The English and Germans ought to be able to understand each other and be friends." As a matter of fact such a hope was destined from the very nature of things to remain a dream. The prosaic undemonstrative Englishman seeks satisfaction in sincerity and good faith, while the Teuton is a mere slave to exteriors and keeps faith so long as it suits him.[3] The German worships the uniform or the title, while the Anglo-Saxon coldly considers the man which wears them. England's greatest son declared, "Manners maketh man," but Germany in theory and practice proclaims, "Knowledge maketh

[3] An English lawyer who often conducted cases for Germans in English courts said: "A German keeps a contract so long as all goes well. But should a strike or any other circumstance intervene to affect his profits, then the German merchant wriggles and endeavours by fair means or foul to get rid of his contract." My own observations confirm this opinion.

man." The one magnifies the heart, the affections, the feelings, while the other lauds the intellect and the sword as the " open, Sesame," of life's portals.

As the one worships the human heart and soul, consequently his " manners " are inspired from within and are intended to show what he means in unaffected sincerity; but the German's " manners " are things learned by " rule of thumb," and seldom reveal what lies beneath the surface — in fact they often are deliberately employed to conceal his inner motives. The writer has on many occasions observed German boys in secluded parts of public parks and gardens practising the latest swing in taking the hat off. Another little index to German character is found in the mirror which every German — male and female — carries in pocket or hand-bag. The pocket mirror appears anywhere and everywhere — in restaurant or drawing-room, in the train or in the street. It is one of the humorous " sights " of German cities to see a street-scavenger rest for a few minutes on his broom, take out his mirror — a little larger than a five-shilling piece — and carefully arrange his moustache, etc. There is nothing to condemn in these customs; they reveal the love of order and reverence for exteriors. The only regrettable point is that Germans do not lay the same value on matters hidden from the human eye.

Friendship is " deep calling to deep," but how could deep call to shallow? The English admire a

" refined " man or woman, whereas the Germans are satisfied with a person being *liebenswürdig* (kindly, obliging, but in reality the best translation is " gushing "). You may play the Teuton a dirty trick, if it is well sweetened with *Liebenswürdigkeit,*" but a word of unpleasant truth would awaken feelings of bitter hostility.

Probably no greater delusion has gained currency than the one that Germans are sentimental. They may have been some generations ago, but certainly the present generation by no means deserve that accusation. Officialdom, militarism and intellectualism, as well as financial prosperity, have all done their part in restraining the growth or in obliterating the finer feelings.

In fact the typical German of the middle and higher classes shows undisguised contempt for sentiment in every form, whilst the vast numbers included under the present classes never have been civilized up to such a standard and remain to-day mere money-grubbing beasts of burden. But of these more will be said in another place. Here it may suffice to state that the affections play a very unimportant rôle in the economy of modern German life. Love of home and fidelity to its tender ties are antagonistic to the military ideal of character. Even feelings of affection for school or *alma mater* are seldom mingled with the German's iron conception of life and its duties.

Just as Treitschke's teachings dominate the ethics of the German State, so Nietzsche's doctrines have found general acceptance among individuals. Sentiment, tenderness to the weak, whether young or old, respect for grey hairs are unfamiliar weaknesses amid Teutonic surroundings.

Only too often one sees an aged mother or father installed in the homes of married children to be "used up" under conditions less congenial than those of a common drudge. But at their death the Press contains huge paid advertisements of their noble lives and many virtues — unappreciated in life — while the farewell addresses at the grave-side give utterance to German filial piety.

The absence of any true sentiment for weaker beings is, however, best illustrated by Germany's attitude to women. Plaything and drudge define her position only too truly. It is not surprising that millions of the lower classes are dissatisfied with a system which makes their daughters the legal prey of "better class" young men, although not a few seem quite content with these social arrangements.[4]

On proceeding to the university or obtaining a lieutenant's commission the young Teuton looks

[4] In Munich, for instance, the student who has a *liaison* with a *Bürgertochter* (daughter of a citizen family) often mixes quite freely in the family circle. On Sundays and holidays he may be seen with the family, sitting in a *Biergarten* or other place of amusement. Neither thinks of marriage; it is the accepted order of things, and, most surprising of all, no dishonour to the girl.

around for a *Verhältnis* (in Munich dialect *Geschpusi*), and will have no difficulty in forming such a friendship with a shop-girl, waitress, better-class servant-girls, daughters of small tradesmen and officials, even family governesses, etc. He incurs no other obligations than paying for entertainments, excursions and such-like. During his pre-marital years he may form many such irregular acquaintanceships; this will by no means restrict his social activities, although his Don Juan proclivities may form a delectable subject of conversation for ladies over cups of coffee. No German would think of forbidding him his home on that account; so long as he confines his *amours* to girls *vom Volke* (from the people) everything is quite in order, and the girl, too, is considered quite "respectable," so long as she is true to Don Juan. But should she induce him to marry her [5] a storm of bitter indignation will disturb the bosoms of her better-placed sisters. Rich Gretchen tolerates poor Gretl in the rôle of plaything, there is no protest, no condemnation, but should *das Mädchen vom Volke* steal a husband from circles above her, mere words can hardly express rich Gretchen's horror at this abominable crime. How far this cancer-growth has spread its roots, even among the girls of better-

[5] English Registrars' Offices have often been the scene of such marriages. Various agents advertise in German newspapers offering to arrange preliminaries and act as interpreters at these ceremonies. *Truth* contained an exposure of the practice some years back — about 1907.

class families, cannot be declared — *aber man sagt!*

A work published in 1914 throws some light on this unpleasant question. In discussing the enormous spread of "free love" in Germany the author writes: "Free love, formerly common in the lower classes, is now frequent among better-class girls (*höheren Töchter*). This has not been caused by temptation, to which a girl succumbs or may successfully resist. But it is the widespread acceptance of the doctrine, so diligently proclaimed in certain quarters, of the right to love, and because of the rejection, as old-fashioned, of the usual estimate placed upon chastity. Society pardons anything except a scandal.[6]

If corroboration of these statements were necessary, then it may be found in newspaper advertisements, Germany's unlimited *posterestante* correspondence,[7] her humorous papers and modern

[6] "Moral und Gesellschaft des 20. Jahrhunderts" ("Morality and Society in the Twentieth Century"), by Fritz Berolzheimer. Published in Berlin, 1914. *Vide* p. 293.

[7] A few years ago the postal authorities prohibited boys and girls under sixteen from having letters addressed *poste restante*. Moral reformers have agitated for further restrictions in vain, yet half an hour spent in any large German post-office would convince any observer that this mode of correspondence flourishes — and the young girls fetching their letters are not business people! In every large post-office there is a special staff to hand out these secret communications, and between twelve and two o'clock and five and eight o'clock, generally, a considerable *queue* of young people may be seen waiting their turn at the counter. There are usually two counters, one for initials A to P, the other Q to Z. A notice hangs on the wall: "The name, initials, or number must be written and handed to the official." Germany's motto is "thorough."

light literature, indeed in all her public places.

Immorality in Germany is widespread — not including State-regulated vice — it is not only tolerated, but laughed at; it is not the result of climate, but of cold-blooded, calculated materialism; it is what Nietzsche called *Herrenmoral* (gentlemen's morality), which sanctions every indulgence of the superman at the expense of his weaker sisters.

Germany has no public opinion to protect the waitress [8] and girls of the lower middle classes. But the chivalry of her sons! (?) Why, the girl "honoured" in this manner calls her lover *mein Cavalier.*

Martin Luther denounced the immorality of German cloisters, but no modern Martin Luther [9] has arisen to denounce *das Verhältnis;* although Germany's Tom Hoods fill their weekly comic papers with endless jokes on this theme, a German "Bridge of Sighs" has yet to be written.

Most remarkable of all is rich Gretchen's attitude to this question. Her moral sensibilities *never* lead her to reject a husband who has devoted ten or fifteen

[8] The number of waitresses employed in Germany must be enormous, but their social standing — if they have one — is low indeed. *Kellnerin* (waitress) is a word always associated with such "friendships" as described above.

[9] In "Christian Hospices" I have sometimes seen pamphlets and periodicals dealing with morality, but the fact remains that the Churches in Germany have never begun any effective crusade against the flagrant injustice which delivers up the middle and lower-class women to the lusts of well-to-do young men.

years of his life to the "primrose paths of dalliance." When spoken to on such a delicate subject a German woman usually answers: "Ach! was kann man doch machen? Das ist ja Herrenmoral." ("What is to be done? That is gentlemen's morality.") She is content to get a husband, but when she becomes a mother she neglects her opportunities of combating *Herrenmoral* by instilling into her sons the first elements of chivalry. It is all "part and parcel" of German life! What rights have these "girls from the masses"? They are the weak and must be sacrificed to the strong.

Next to sympathy and chivalry another important test of character is the power to feel true gratitude. But here again Teutonic character leaves much to be desired. It would lead too far to give single instances, yet the most casual student of history will be able to recall instances of English help for Germany from Napoleon I. to the present day. Open markets for German goods in Great Britain and her colonies; the giving up of Heligoland; hundreds and thousands of Germans gaining their livelihood in this country, including some scores in our universities and Government offices; in fact, no door has been closed to them, not even the doors of Parliament, no honour to which they could not aspire, and yet, in spite of all this and much more, the writer has never read a word of gratitude in the German Press, nor heard one from German lips — on the contrary, only abuse.

English hospitality has been an excellent means to spy, and England's friendship has only called forth diatribes from Bismarck onwards. The German is, above all, a cynic who will employ another's sentiment to his own advantage — but afterwards ridicule the weakness.

The only virtues which could be unreservedly ascribed to the German are obedience and thrift; but they are obedient because they must be, not from spontaneous respect for those in authority. His industry and thrift are, however, unlimited and deserve unstinted praise, except where they degenerate into greed and engender envy.[10] No charge has been oftener made than the accusation that the English envy Germany, but when called upon to substantiate the statement Germans can only fall into the well-worn formulas of abuse.

In summing-up Germans are characterized by unbounded vanity, love of secrecy, morbid sensitiveness, envy, absence of consideration for others, a strong tendency to revert to "the ape and tiger"; Germans lack true sentiment and affection, but have a remarkable inclination to reckless, brutal self-assertion.

These seventy million human beings have not long

[10] I am of the opinion that one of the strongest motives behind the Social Democratic movement in Germany is innate envy. In trade and amongst officials, in schools and universities, envy stalks by day and night. There is an expression which Germans often use to describe this; it is: *Brodneid* = bread-envy.

since shaken off feudal fetters, and since that time they have been like clay in the hands of the potter. A strong autocratic government has moulded them for its ends. They have been drilled and intellectualized, but neither freed nor regenerated.

Beneath the intellectual veneer and imitated manners lies Germany's heart — a heart which has not been changed either by culture or Christianity. The Romantic Revival and the War of Liberation produced only *Weltschmerz* (world-pain), *Sturm und Drang,* but were not succeeded by a humanitarian movement.

Early in January, 1915, the *Morning Post,* in a leading article on Mr. Norman Angell's book, "Prussianism and its Destruction," [11] quotes that writer as stating that "some half-dozen professors and a few writers and theorists — Nietzsche, Treitschke, and their school — have radically transformed the nature and character of some seventy million souls." In that sentence Mr. Norman Angell betrays his complete ignorance of a subject which only presumption, or the natural desire to profit by his writings, could have induced him to write upon.

[11] The author has not read Mr. Norman Angell's book and has no intention of doing so. He is, however, astonished at the temerity of this gentleman in writing about a country and a people of which he knows nothing — not even the German language. If Mr. Norman Angell knows Prussia, why did he not write on the subject and warn the world — including the British public — before the war? All in all, this gentleman would do well to study humanity itself, and not exploit it with his worthless opinions.

The national "character" of Germany and the "nature" of Germans have not been transformed by professors and theorists. Character, both national and individual, has always been of the brutal type in the Fatherland; the success of Treitschke and his school is due to the fact that their teachings were acceptable to the nation — in short, the seed fell upon good ground. But it is a ridiculous theory to imagine that the seed "transformed" the soil.

The writer in question — although German sources are a closed book to him — should at least be acquainted with the writings of Byron, Shelley, Ruskin, Charles Reade and a host of others, who bear testimony to German character being disgusting,[12] brutal, and permeated with a love of destruction.

Bavarians love to talk of *Gemütlichkeit* (good-natured, easy-going disposition) as their national characteristic. The Prussian prides himself on his *Schneidigkeit* (smartness, effrontery and go). It is interesting to note that the Prussian ideal has supplanted the Bavarian. A German who has plenty of dash, is overbearing to inferiors, who speaks shortly and sharply, repulses friendly advances with abruptness and brims over with self-assertion —.is a true German. He commands respect and admiration — because he embodies the qualities which Teu-

[12] Shelley in his diary — the author is quoting from memory — speaks of "the disgusting Germans." Dr. Ackermann, the German biographer of Shelley, translates the phrase "*die widerwärtigen Deutschen.*"

tons admire. Of him it is said: "Der hat Schneid!" ("He is a keen fellow!") In reality, however, he is a swashbuckler minus his weapons. "We Germans have very little capacity to make moral and cultural conquests, and as we have already remarked, it is especially a North German characteristic — and the Prussians dare not deny the charge — that they cannot understand the peculiarities of another people and are unable to establish friendly, harmonious relations with other men. This weakness has its roots in the steadily increasing Prussian influence on German character, above all the trait of personal abruptness (*Schroffheit* — rudeness) in the intercourse of everyday life. We are accustomed to call this quality smartness (*Schneidigkeit*), but it covers only too frequently merely arrogance of caste or nationality. This Prussian-German *Schneidigkeit* injures Germany in the outside world both from a political and cultural point of view." [13]

[13] "Der deutsche Gedanke" ("The German Idea"), by Paul Rohrbach, p. 227.

CHAPTER VI

THE GERMAN ARMY AND COURTS-MARTIAL

VISITORS to Germany before the European War were generally surprised to find the Germans not only proud of their great fighting machine, but also unreserved and enthusiastic supporters of the militaristic idea. So many anti-conscription writers had led the British public to believe that young Teutons were forcibly dragged from their homes like press-gang victims to render unwilling service to the Kaiser, under conditions similar to the galley-slaves in the fleets of ancient Rome, that it came as a surprise to many, to learn that Germans felt sincere pleasure, as well as pride, in wearing the *Kaiserrock* (Emperor's uniform).

October 1st is the fateful day on which several hundred thousand recruits flock to the colours, and during the few days previous to entering the army young Germany gives itself up to festivity. In the villages a characteristic sight at the end of September is the decorated wagons full of young fellows being drawn from one beer-house to the next. They form a merry crowd, carrying beer-tankards, singing lustily and shouting *prosit!* to every passer-by.

Each of these happy days concludes with dancing and music till late in the night. It is the recruit's last "good time" before submitting to the most rigorous of all the disciplines which shape his life. The writer has witnessed many such scenes without detecting any unwillingness among the men, although it would be wrong to assume there are none of the recruits who would rather not go.

Occasionally the papers reported cases of young fellows being court-martialled for having accidentally (?) cut off a finger or mutilated themselves in some manner, to make themselves unfit for military service, but such reports were rare. If a man does not present himself on October 1st a warrant is immediately issued for his arrest as a deserter. The German army statistics for 1911 give the number of deserters in that year at 1,089; but during the same year 661 deserters afterwards joined the colours and were punished. Many of these were undoubtedly deserters from previous years, and if we subtract the two numbers we obtain a net loss to the army of 428 men through desertion. The result is only approximate, but whether we accept the larger number (1,089) or the smaller (428), the proportion of deserters — from over 250,000 recruits plus 500,000 men already in the army — is insignificant.

For mutilation in order to escape service a man may be sentenced to several years' penal servitude. A deserter sacrifices all property and civil rights;

if he visits the Fatherland in later years he does so at the risk of arrest and severe punishment.

Another mode of escaping military service is to smoke large numbers of cigarettes and drink quantities of beer for a few days previous to the medical examination. Students sometimes do this, and if the man is in a students-corps, he may have himself examined by a medical man who is an ex-member of the corps. In this manner also certificates of exemption are occasionally procured.

A man who does not serve is looked upon as a shirker of the worst kind, and even if a man is excused for medical reasons he is to a certain extent despised. It is a fact on which he prefers to keep silence, evidently because he feels himself to be outside the national brotherhood. To see thousands of these men disappear with laughter and song, with apparent enjoyment, into German barrack life is an inspiring sight. They submit themselves to the great military "must"— because they must.

Since returning to his native country the writer has witnessed a sight still more inspiring, in that he has seen tens of thousands of England's sons flocking to arms; because they may and will. They submit themselves to military discipline because they will, and therein lies the superiority of moral worth.

There are, speaking generally, two classes of soldiers in the German army, viz., those who serve full time and the men who serve only one year. Full-

time men must serve two years in the artillery or infantry and three years if in the cavalry.

The one-year-men are called *Einjährige-Freiwillige* and when addressed by a superior *Herr Einjähriger* (Mr. One-year-man). An examination must be passed in order to obtain the two years' exemption. This examination is held in the State schools and the candidates must be sixteen years of age. Boys who cannot afford to remain at school so long often prepare for it by private study.

A boy of good family is obliged to gain this certificate or lose caste by serving as a common soldier (*Gemeiner*). At the age of nineteen or twenty he announces himself to the nearest military authority, at the same time he must produce his "one-year-certificate." He is not obliged to enter the army immediately, and should he desire to go abroad or to a university, the authorities allow him to postpone his term of service till his twenty-fourth year, but seldom longer.

In all university towns a considerable number of the students are one-year-men serving in the army. They are enrolled as students, pay the fees, but seldom appear at lectures; the terms are reckoned by the academic authorities. In peace time from twenty to fifty soldiers of this class are attached to each regiment; the colonel's permission must be obtained before a man can join. In the case of crack regiments, private means and social standing are

factors which a colonel takes into consideration.

Just as his less fortunate comrades, the one-year-volunteer enters barracks on October 1st — in North Germany April 1st — and for the next three weeks he lives in the barracks. No recruit is allowed to go into the streets before he has mastered the elements of military deportment, saluting and other minor details.

One-year-men receive no assistance from the State, they must bear the whole expense of uniforms and kit as well as board and lodging. After the three weeks' preliminary drill they live either in lodgings or at home if that is possible. In the evenings they are generally free and form a familiar sight in restaurant, coffee-house, theatre and other places of amusement. They are easily distinguishable by their smart well-fitting uniforms with blue and white cording round the shoulderstraps.

Needless to add they do not go through the roughest part of military life. They have no authority over ordinary soldiers, but still form a class by themselves between the rankers and officers. In the streets they never walk with long-service men, and of course are never seen in the company of officers, unless they meet as guests at a dinner-party or other private function. Their training is supplemented by class instruction in tactics and the theory of warfare. In war time if their superiors have fallen, they may be called upon to take command.

It is an universal custom for these men to give gratuities to the N.C.O.'s of their company. Such gifts are voluntary only in name, for if a wealthy young man neglected to give his sergeant, etc., the customary *Schmier* (wagon grease — slang for tip) it is quite certain that his superiors would make his twelve months' military service as unpleasant as possible.

The writer has never heard of a one-year-man receiving a blow from an N.C.O., but they no doubt get the usual amount of barrack-yard abuse. In fact numerous men of this class have told the author how degrading it is for them—men of education —to be sworn at and abused with disgusting names by " ein rohes ungebildetes Vieh " (" a rude uneducated beast ").

As already mentioned, they are free to take their meals where they like, consequently they are familiar figures in all the better-class restaurants, and it is interesting to observe them give a keen glance round the room on entering to see if any officers are present.

After the waiter has hung up the man's mantle, helm and sword — if an officer is in the restaurant — he goes to the latter's table and stands stiffly at attention behind his superior's chair till the salute is acknowledged. And if half a dozen are sitting at so many different tables the salute has to be given to each of them. The same formalities precede the soldier's exit from the premises. If an officer,

whom he has not previously saluted, passes his table he must immediately spring to attention. In the street also the same punctiliousness is observed, and includes salutes to N.C.O.'s.

The writer has often observed a sentry present arms to an officer crossing the street two hundred yards away. Cavalrymen and artillerymen will avoid saluting an infantry N.C.O. if possible, but there is the risk of several days in the guardroom for such an oversight.

In reference to the presents given to N.C.O.'s a good story is told of a Nuremberg regiment. Several one-year-men subscribed to present the sergeant with a piano. The N.C.O. was delighted, and if report be true the men had an agreeable year in the army, after which they returned to civilian life. A few weeks later an agent called on the sergeant to collect the next instalment for the piano!

The minimum cost to a man during his year's service is £100; in cavalry or artillery regiments it amounts to several hundreds. In return for these sacrifices the individual obtains various privileges in addition to certain social status, *i.e.*, he belongs to the class which may give or demand satisfaction.

After the completion of the normal year's service they have still two or three supplementary drills — at yearly intervals — of eight weeks. On continuing these drills for several years one-year-men can

obtain the rank of reserve officer, and a large proportion of them follow that course.

If the man enters any branch of the civil service, his chances of promotion are considerably enhanced by being an officer of the reserve. Such officers defray all the expenses of uniform and kit, in fact, many lessons of patriotic self-sacrifice may be learned from the German army; in many cases the cost greatly exceeds the material gain. One privilege highly esteemed by reserve officers is the right to appear in uniform when entering the married state. On the Kaiser's birthday he parades the streets in uniform, and before he is laid in his coffin he is carefully attired in the same.[1]

Full-time soldiers live in the barracks and are subject to German military discipline in the most comprehensive sense of the word. Every man receives 2½d. per diem, but this is not looked upon as payment. His food is plain and consists largely of

[1] In Germany the dead are always dressed before being placed in the coffin. If the deceased had the right to wear a uniform in life, then he sleeps his last sleep therein. Better-class civilians are dressed for the grave in evening dress or frock-coat; but in every case the best which he possessed in this life. After this ceremony is finished a religious ceremony follows, and the coffin is immediately removed to the public mortuary. In every cemetery there is a special building for this purpose. Young girls are dressed in white with a wreath round the head; a married woman is always buried in the black dress worn at her marriage ceremony in the registry office. The coffin remains open till a few minutes before the interment; all relations and friends attend the last ceremony and look at the dead.

black bread. Most of the men are able to supplement this fare by hampers from home, and the civilian population show considerable kindliness and generosity to them.

The uniform is the emblem of the Kaiser, and Germans feel it to be the emblem of Germany — in either case it commands respect. Nothing which has been written concerning the obliteration of individuality in the German army could exaggerate the true state of affairs. The authorities have a certain ideal of the perfect soldier, and the whole machinery from the Highest War Lord down to the N.C.O. is arranged so as to turn out the desired pattern. Above all he must be without individual will or desire. Whatever the War Lord wills that must be his will. He is trained and drilled till he becomes an efficient machine. When an officer is addressing him, he becomes a rigid figure without a gleam of expression in his countenance. During those moments his superiors' will becomes his own — and afterwards he puts it into execution. All Germans love discipline, and when they escape from it hardly know what to do with themselves; the superior will is missing and the individual will is not developed; on the contrary, it is effaced. So it is from the cradle to the grave for millions of Germans, but their mental and cultural development has only reached that stage which makes this the best system for getting the last ounce out of the last man.

No real military discipline can be obtained without sacrifice on the part of the soldier. The German soldier makes the greatest sacrifice of all — personality; and the State is thus able to construct the most disciplined army-machine in the world.

A soldier's life never has been and never can be a bed of roses, but probably there are fewer roses and more thorns for the common soldier in the German army than in any other modern military system. A quick, intelligent fellow may possibly adapt himself easily to the requirements, but the vast majority of Germany's peasant classes are neither quick nor intelligent; they are heavy and inert to stupidity.

Such material is not raised to the standard of military precision in vogue without endless labour. The N.C.O. has the task of shaping the human material, and he is responsible in the first instance for getting the required efficiency into the men. It is true the law permits only moral suasion, but he uses other kinds of persuasion, e.g., a kick or a blow. If he is court-martialled for ill-treating subordinates he is sure of sympathetic judges, who, if they must condemn him, will give him the benefit of "extenuating circumstances," which means, "being too zealous in the performance of duty." Furthermore, the officers are not in sympathy with the men, whom they look upon as the *Urvieh* (original beast) or *Saudummerhund* (swine-stupid dog). They and the N.C.O.'s are responsible for the *Urvieh* becoming

a soldier, and as he is of this material they cannot be blamed for employing suitable methods to attain the desired end. The end is everything, because it *must* be attained.

Without doubt the discipline of the German soldier is on a very high level, and those who know young Germans of the lower classes before entering the army may wonder how it is possible. The transformation scene in the barrack-yard, is hidden from the public eye, but the process must be painful in the extreme.

It is difficult to write about German barrack life, because those who know it from experience may not speak of it. A soldier dare not talk of the happenings in army life; they are *militärische Geheimnisse.* The kick of a sergeant or the mechanism of a new cannon are both "military secrets," and a soldier who spoke of them to a mere civilian would expose himself to severe punishment.

The teachers in the State schools and officials in all Government services are compelled to observe official secrecy (*Amtsverschwiegenheit*), and this is naturally much stricter in the case of the army.

In 1914 the Social Democratic leader Rosa Luxembourg stated in a public speech that "there are countless tragedies enacted in German barracks every year."

The Union of N.C.O.'s complained to the War Office, and the Public Prosecutor began an action

against the lady for slandering the army. At the trial in July last she pleaded justification and demanded that many hundreds of witnesses — N.C.O.'s and privates — should be called in order that the truth of her statement might be proved. If this course had been pursued the Social Democratic Party would have been supplied with an unlimited amount of ammunition for purposes of agitation. Details would have been made public which would have injured the military party; in a word, the latter would have been led into a trap. The Public Prosecutor recognized the position, and the case was adjourned *sine die,* which meant that the courts would not be troubled with the charge again. War intervened, effectually preventing further developments.

Of course a private can complain of ill-treatment to his captain and the N.C.O. will be summoned before a court-martial. Even then it is impossible for the general public to learn the rights of the affair; in the papers reports like the following appear:

"Sergeant X. was court-martialled for ill-treating his subordinates. Forty instances were cited and fifty witnesses called. *In the interests of military discipline* the press and public were excluded from the trial. Sergeant X. was found guilty with extenuating circumstances and was sentenced to three days mild arrest." That is to say, if the officer accepts the verdict he remains in the bosom of his family for three days, but in most cases he does not

put up with such an "injustice"; he appeals to a higher court, and very often succeeds in getting the record expunged.

Privates who have participated in the trial by giving adverse evidence may expect a warm time from the sergeant in question and every other N.C.O. with whom they come in contact. Every trick in the arsenal of cunning brutality will be employed to make the men regret having endangered discipline.

The authorities' point of view is that their *raison d'être* is the maintenance of military efficiency and not the administration of justice. Ordinary conceptions of right and justice must be left outside the barrack gates; within, the will of the army is the first and last consideration. The end is military efficiency, which includes absolute submission of every shred of personality; the end justifies the means, be they moral suasion or brutal ill-treatment. Certainly any legal artifice, sometimes open disregard of right, is resorted to in order to screen non-commissioned officers from punishment. An interesting paragraph occurs in an anonymous work published in 1890, "*der judische soldat im deutschen Heer*" ("The Jewish Soldier in the German Army.") There is no reason to believe that conditions have improved, which justifies a quotation from p. 17, *et seq.*: "The private is too browbeaten and afraid of the consequences of complaining, for he says to himself: 'My superior will be punished for the

wrong done to me, but for years I shall have to suffer as a result of his punishment.' If a two-year man is convicted for a military offence his punishment generally includes an extra year in the army. Soldiers fear this punishment above all others as a result of complaints. An N.C.O. can cause a man all sorts of unpleasantnesses against which there is no protection whatever. He has power to rob a private of all his leisure by giving him extra jobs, and he can embitter his life by all kinds of harassing hardships and oppression. Besides, he can follow him with eyes of hate and catch him up for the most harmless sins of omission or commission. Every reader who knows barrack-yard life can confirm this. Then there is the consideration that a captain hates to have complaints in his company, because he must report them to his superiors. Lastly it is well-known that a man who has made a complaint is generally carpeted in the sergeant's office and the injurious consequences of his course pointed out to him; in a word he is bullied into withdrawing it."

Imagine for a moment that an accusation is made by an N.C.O. against a private, e.g., for disobedience (*Verweigerung des Geshorsams* is the military designation); then the press is not excluded, for the evil-doings of a mere private are public property. Publicity exercises "moral influence" on public opinion in these cases, and on such occasions the severest possible punishment will be dealt out to offenders.

The difficulty of obtaining facts bearing on this question will be appreciated by readers after reading the following instances. About two years ago a sergeant was sitting in a beer-garden, when two civilians seated themselves at the same table. Conversation of a friendly kind ensued in which the N.C.O. committed the fatal error — in Germany — of frankly expressing his opinion to strangers. The topic of conversation was German officers, and the sergeant spoke bitterly of the manner in which commissioned officers treat their subordinates. He even expressed the belief that " in the next war more German officers would be shot in the back by their own men, than would be accounted for by the enemy." [2] Like true Germans, the two civilians reported the conversation to the sergeant's commanding officer.[3] He was court-martialled and sentenced to degradation and two years' imprisonment.

[2] This may explain why German officers have not led, but driven their men into battle during the present war.

[3] In spite of the excellent proverb, "Der Denunziant ist der grösste Lump im Land" ("The tale-bearer is the biggest scoundrel in the land"), denunciation flourishes in all classes of society. It is alike, the weapon at Court (the Crown Prince has often had things confided to him in order that the Kaiser may hear of them) and in petty officialdom. One instance will illustrate the Crown Prince's activities in this domain. When Gerhart Hauptmann's patriotic play was produced at Breslau in 1913, the Catholic Archbishop of Breslau wrote to the Crown Prince informing him that the Hohenzollerns were not exactly glorified in the piece and requesting him to communicate with the Kaiser. He did, and the vials of imperial wrath were poured on the Silesian capital and the playwright. *Vide* p. 47.

If an educated German is questioned on these matters he defends them as necessary evils: "Diese Bauernkerle müssen abgerichtet werden!" ("These chawbacon fellows must be knocked into shape.") If he has any qualms of conscience they are smoothed over in the belief that it is all for the good of the Fatherland and the fellow himself. The military system must be right, for Germany has been singularly barren of John Hampdens.

"In the interests of military discipline," is the great Teutonic Juggernaut before which parents *must* cast their sons and before which every other right *must* give way. There is no way open for soldiers in barracks to escape from the brutalities of army life, and no power or public opinion in Germany capable of checking them. A very real dread of jumping from the frying-pan into the fire suppresses any inclination at revolt which soldiers may feel.

Every year, however, a considerable number do escape from the torments of military life, but it is only by putting themselves beyond the reach of human justice. Suicides are fairly common, although the official report generally represents them in another light.

Here is an example of what the writer has read in German papers on several occasions: "Private A. B. was found on the pavement before the barracks with his skull smashed. The poor 'gone-

over-there-one' (*der Dahingeschiedene* = deceased) was a somnambulist and had presumably fallen from a window on the second story. Private A. B. was a good soldier and popular among his comrades and superiors. No reason whatever is known which could arouse a suspicion that the deceased had voluntarily gone to his death." Those who are sufficiently credulous may believe that the dead man had not committed suicide; the writer had never any doubts when reading such reports, but "the incredible spirit of submission, of discipline and of secrecy which prevails in Germany" [4] renders it impossible to fathom such mysteries.

In order to realize the brutal cynicism of German military courts it is helpful to consider the quarrel between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket over the ecclesiastical courts, which enjoyed privileges subversive to civil justice. The same conditions prevail in modern Germany, with the difference that the military courts possess far greater powers than the old church courts, and concerning persons subject to military discipline they have the last word. Furthermore, there is no one who dare oppose or criticize them. Their sentences for offences committed by officers, commissioned or non-commissioned, are for the most part venal; the punishments which they mete out to ordinary soldiers brutal.

It is the writer's conviction that the military

[4] The *Times'* issue of the French Yellow Book, p. 4, column 4.

courts are at the root of all the social evils accruing from German militarism. They are the Star Chambers by means of which the military autocracy is able to maintain itself. Only by these means could the thousand-and-one injustices of German national life exist. The sentence of death on Private Lonsdale, who was afterwards condemned to life-long imprisonment, is quite in accordance with German court-martial traditions.

There is yet another section of the Kaiser's army to consider — *des Offizierskorps*. The author's earliest acquaintances among the *élite* of German society were four lieutenants in the Chevauleger Regiment, stationed at Nuremberg. These were among the first Teutons from whom he heard how deeply Germany hated England. He heard for the first time (1902) that during the Boer War the officers of a certain English regiment had destroyed the Kaiser's portrait in their mess-room. Such an insult to *unserm Kaiser,* he was told, could only be wiped out by rivers of English blood.

It has already been pointed out that between common soldiers, one-year-men, and N.C.O.'s, there are three distinct gulfs which are not intended to be bridged over (military discipline), but these three classes are separated from commissioned officers by the supreme gulf.

It is an error to suppose that all German officers come from aristocratic families; in reality the offi-

cers' corps is a medley crowd. The discretionary powers of the colonel prevent the mess-rooms of the famous regiments from pollution by any *bourgeois* element; but the majority of junior officers in infantry regiments are the sons of lower middle-class families. After obtaining a captaincy — average age 40 to 45 — these men are pensioned; higher commands are nearly all reserved for the sons of ancient families. Yet there are two classes of men who never become officers in the full sense of the word, *i.e.*, Jews and N.C.O.'s.

In 1870 some of the latter received commissions for bravery, but at the conclusion of hostilities were pensioned. A Jew has never been honoured with the *Offizierspatent,* although he may become reserve officer. Even then he may only hope for appointment in the *Train* (siege artillery).

Officers have a good average education, and having donned the *Kaiserrock,* must consider themselves beings apart from, and superior to, *das Civil.* After leaving a State Secondary School an intending officer completes his education at a cadet school. In due course he is attached to a regiment as ensign (*Fähnrich*) and finally blossoms into a lieutenant. *Der bunte Rock* (the gay coat) is able to cover many things, but it gives no protection to military inefficiency. It is the supreme exterior of German life, where exteriors flourish in abundance; it is the most sacred fetish which commands the worship of Ger-

man hearts. The person within it may be a cadet or a gentleman; that is a point of minor importance. The law protects it from all criticism, for it is the very symbol of Kaiserdom.

A newspaper editor in Bamberg, Bavaria, published an article early in 1914, entitled *der grosse Herr* (the grand gentleman), in which he pilloried the swaggering presumption of officers — he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

The German hostess is more gracious to officer guests receiving 3s. 6d. per day than to merchant princes possessing huge incomes. A dazzling lieutenant is of greater importance than the burgomaster of a great city. The latter may walk through the streets unrecognized, but every policeman, tram-conductor, post or railway official salutes an officer. If a company of soldiers meets a newly-fledged lieutenant, an order rings out and they swing past with the *Paradeschritt*.[5]

Tradespeople who wish to impress a new customer whisper reverently that " die Herren Offiziere kaufen bei uns ein " (" The Mr. Officers deal here ") ; the restaurant proprietor is proud to mention the fact that officers eat on his premises, and the coffee-house

[5] The parade-step (so-called goose-step) is employed as a salute or at reviews when marching past the saluting point. The men spend weeks in acquiring this perfection of mechanical movement. In November it is a familiar scene when passing a barracks to see squads of men under N.C.O.'s practising it singly. A march-past in full uniform is an imposing sight in the Fatherland. The *Paradeschritt* is the Kaiser's contribution to military science.

owner boasts that officers drink his coffee. It is quite superfluous for the restaurant-host to impart this information; other guests may find it out by painful experience when the waiters have neglected their orders a few times in order to give the uniform pride of place. On all occasions, at all times, the officer's uniform is in the front rank, and with very few exceptions it is in the very first place.

At Court every one who has the faintest right to a uniform of any kind appears in it; the Kaiser views civilian attire with severe displeasure — a prejudice to which American ambassadors have not yet yielded. No public function is ever held but the officers of regiments must be invited. If an invitation were not sent it would be deemed an affront and petty reprisals resorted to; even on speech-days in the State Secondary Schools *der bunte Rock* is in evidence, and the writer has observed officers from the local regiments peacefully sleeping during the annual address delivered by the Vice-Chancellor of Erlangen University.

The uniform has such a hold on the popular imagination that Germans feel there is a lack of solemnity and official sanction if *das Offizierskorps* is not represented where men meet together with any serious purpose — whether it be to enjoy municipal bounty or to hear learned discourses on Bible research. Indeed, if the supreme fetish of German exteriors is not before their eyes, they feel like the

ancient Jews in the absence of the Ark of the Covenant.

Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny certain good qualities which make German officers welcome, often charming guests in German drawing-rooms. Above all he possesses the surface polish of the dancing-master. He bows with awe-inspiring deference; kisses a lady's hand when greeting her; his deportment is above criticism and yet his uniform may cover a multitude of sins. Nothing matters so long as he is "correct" and efficient in his profession. As a German once said to the writer: "We want officers, not gentlemen," and this sentence aptly expresses the national attitude. They are instruments of military discipline, but at the same time are subject to it themselves. Towards subordinates they are openly brutal, but in the presence of superiors, *es wird gebuckt und geduckt* (endless bowing and scraping). They may violate civilian rights with considerable impunity, but any infringement of army laws would lead to condign punishment.

In the street or public places the officer swaggers with overbearing condescension towards the lower orders of society, and is ever-ready to resent or revenge any conduct in another person which he believes to be derogatory to his own dignity — the Kaiser's honour. The most trifling provocation on the part of a civilian is sufficient cause for his sword to leap from its scabbard.

Some years ago (about 1905) a lieutenant was marching through the streets of Nuremberg at the head of a company of infantry. A number of street urchins amused themselves by marching in step and other youthful antics, which aroused the ire of this gallant son of Mars. The lieutenant drew his sword and cut open one of the offender's heads. A court-martial decided that he had only struck to protect the army from ridicule and sentenced him to a few days' arrest. The people murmured, the Press reported the case without comment, while the Pulpit maintained a discreet silence. There is no shorter route to the inside of a German prison than to ridicule or criticize the great fetish.

According to German ideals an officer stands for all that is noble, brave and elegant. Among the better classes his privileges are looked upon as merely his due. Professor Delbrück, the successor to Treitschke, concludes an essay [6] on German officers with these words: "Any considerable material preference to officers has not been proved. The social superiority which distinguishes our officers is the necessary result of their character. If any one is jealous of this, it can only be from vanity or inability to understand the whole matter." The writer willingly admits the "social superiority," but declines to believe that the noble character of Ger-

[6] "Historiche und politische Aufsätze," by Dr. Hans Delbrück, p. 334.

many's super-supermen has won them the distinction. On the other hand, he is convinced that the respect they enjoy is obtained and maintained by the mailed fist, supported by the courts-martial. As a class they lack true chivalry, which is the key-note of character. The record of their dealings with German women is unclean in the extreme, while the treatment of unarmed civilians is a shameless betrayal of justice and humanity.

They enjoy great privileges, possess extensive discretionary powers, but do not feel the responsibility which such power should inspire; it only feeds the fires of vanity and innate conceit; they are "oiled and curled Assyrian bulls." Officers' circles are the most exclusive and at the same time the most corrupt.[7] Everything which officers do is superior (*vornehm*), that which they do not countenance is taboo — including football.

A conflict with an officer is something to be avoided, and a civilian prefers to overlook an affront rather than have an open quarrel. Should an officer feel that he has been insulted, he must immediately report the incident to his commanding officer, who lays the matter before a court of honour. The court decides whether an apology will suffice, or whether an appeal to pistols must follow; at the latter game

[7] The description of life in the German army presented in Lieutenant Bilse's book, "In einer kleinen Garnison," does not exaggerate the reality.

it is evident that a civilian runs more risk of receiving than giving a mortal wound.

By these refined methods the educated classes are held in thrall, but the means of dealing with the man in corduroys are more precise, even frankly brutal. A workman who dared to show any disrespect to an officer might expect to be cut down forthwith. In 1910 the writer had a long conversation with General von Rotenhan, formerly commander of the Nuremberg district. The question of officers making use of the sword was under discussion.

A hypothetical case was cited. If a drunken man began a dispute with an officer or made himself obnoxious so as to cause a quarrel ending in the man abusing the officer, what ought the officer to do according to the military code? Without hesitating the general answered, "Mit der Waffe auf ihn losgehen!" ("Go for him with his sword"). The writer endeavoured to make the English point of view clear, that it is neither gentlemanly nor "fair play" for an armed man to use his weapons against an unarmed opponent. This the general admitted was *sehr schön* (very nice), but it was not the code of German officers, and added that if an officer failed to use his sword effectively against a civilian who had shown him (*i.e.*, the Kaiser) disrespect, he would be forced to resign his *Offizierspatent* (commission).

English people were amazed at the famous Zabern incident, but to the majority of Germans the action of the officer was logical and correct. Lieutenant

Förster believed that the lame cobbler was going to strike him, therefore he struck first. For this heroic deed a civil court condemned him to six weeks' imprisonment; unfortunately such a sentence has no effect till a military court confirms it. Before a court-martial Lieutenant Förster could feel comparatively safe, for his judges may be comrades, and in the worst case members of the same caste, determined to protect the uniform at any cost. The expected really happened, for the charge against Förster was dismissed and the matter ended.

Colonel von Reuter, the commanding officer in Zabern, was also court-martialled for having ordered his men to fire on the civilian population before the civil authorities had called for military intervention. He too was exonerated, and the Crown Prince congratulated him by telegraphing the word "Bravo!"

Professor Delbrück, commenting on the case in his review, "das preussische Jahrbuch" (1913), wrote: "Lieutenant Förster has been acquitted by the military court. The plea of putative self-defence was accepted, and the extension of this idea can endanger the life of any citizen who gets into a quarrel with a soldier. Colonel von Reuter was also acquitted because it was assumed that he acted in good faith; further, he believed his measures to be necessary, as the civil powers were helpless." Ergo — if an officer commits an error involving the loss of civilian lives, a plea of good faith is sufficient to excuse the murder, and as a consolation to the

wounded feelings of the murderer he receives the hearty congratulations of the second man in the German Empire.

In concluding his article Delbrück writes: "Both the officers ought to have been sentenced and then pardoned by the Kaiser. The military power is so great and dangerous that civilians must necessarily have protection against its misuse. On the other hand, the army and State security require that under certain circumstances use may be made of the weapon without the intervention of the civil authorities. It is hardly possible to decide by legislation where this right begins. It would be easier if public opinion had unlimited confidence in the military courts."

No quotation in this work better illustrates German sophistry than these few sentences from Berlin University's professor of history. Yet the proposal to fulfil the letter of the law by convicting the culprits and then to violate the spirit of justice by giving them a free pardon is genuinely German. Delbrück knows his public, and is fully aware that if only the form is observed, it will endure any wrong or flagrant injustice. Germans worship exteriors and these alone.

For over eight months the world has seen Germany's vast military mechanism in motion. So far as a mere civilian can judge, the machine has developed all the efficiency which was expected of it. The brutal methods and atrocities have surprised only those who did not know Germany and the Germans. It is none the less deplorable that the German nation has

made her army the be-all and end-all of national existence — deplorable for herself and the world.

Still, in their present state of development, German citizens are admirably suited to military purposes. They love discipline, and the spectacular side of militarism appeals irresistibly to their warlike instincts. At the present moment the writer has in his mind's eye an old German professor who could not sit at his study table when a company of soldiers marched past his house. Militarism flows in every German's blood; the children prefer playing soldiers to any other game. Souvenirs of barrack life are cherished in every home. The old men are members of *Kriegervereine, Veteranenvereine,* or some other society where old soldiers drink their beer on Saturday evenings and discuss reminiscences of army life. When a member of such a society dies, his comrades accompany him with music to his last resting-place, the club banner is waved three times over his coffin in token of farewell, and amid the firing of miniature cannon he sinks into his narrow cell.

Militarism is to the German mind a great, heroic science; the consummation of human greatness, demand and worthy of every sacrifice — even life itself. In return for his sacrifices the German has oppression in the place of freedom, shams and baubles for realities. But, all in all, he is content with his bargain, which goes to show that the whole system is suitable to, and possible in, his stage of civilization.[8]

[8] For Crime Statistics of the German Army, *vide* Appendix I.

CHAPTER VII

THE GERMS OF AGGRESSION FROM KANT TO NIETZSCHE

QUARRELSOME aggressiveness is innate in German character, a statement amply proved by her history and her modern everyday life. The robber knights of medieval times afford ample evidence of uncompromising hate and love of destruction,[1] virtues which the process of the centuries has only succeeded in diverting into other channels.

The very development of the twenty-odd German States, which have been united and dissolved, grouped and regrouped till Bismarck succeeded in 1871 in founding the conglomerate Germanic Empire of to-day, all goes to illustrate the truculent aggression of the Teutonic race; brute force being always the determining factor.

After the Reformation had established itself in Northern Europe there was none of the Protestant States where so much bitter abusive polemic followed as was the case for a century in Germany before the Thirty Years' War, while in no other land did the religious disputes lead to so cruel and bloody a strug-

[1] The robber knights of the Middle Ages illustrate admirably Nietzschean principles of the superman.

gle as that which tore Germany from end to end during the period 1618–1648.

Even in the twentieth century the two great camps of the Christian church are still alertly "on guard" and view each other's successes in the political world with undisguised envy and intolerance. The same intriguing continues to place Protestant or Catholic into the headships of State Secondary Schools, mayorships and all other public appointments from chimney-sweep [2] to cabinet minister. Promotion in the public services depends largely on the man's religion, *i.e.*, whether his faith coincides with that of the powers-that-be in his district and province.

That the German State is aware of the intolerance and quarrelsome vindictiveness which characterize its constituent units is evident in the punishments meted out in the Penal Code for all sorts of ridiculous offences, which every other civilized power ignores, leaving them to the common sense of the majority and the feelings of decency in a nation. These virtues are the result of growth, not legislation, and the mere fact that police rules are necessary to procure ordinary tolerant behaviour among the vast masses of the nation is sufficient comment on Germany's culture.

We find a fund of humour in the grumpy individual occupying the corner seat who insists on the

[2] Sweeps are appointed to each rural district by the Town Council. Men, when applying, must answer the eternal question, "What is your religion?"

window being kept shut. The German State decorates its railway carriages with notices which annihilate "the man in the corner." A simple regulation states that no window may be opened unless everybody in the carriage is agreed. Considering that each German third class carriage contains about six open, connected compartments seating about fifty persons, an idea may be formed of the impossibility of persuading so many Teutons to agree on so small a point, yet one and all will give unquestioning obedience to the police rule on the wall.

Order, peace and discipline are all obtained from without — seldom from within the individual's breast. But the authorities know that this is the only means by which the railway carriage is preserved from scenes of bloodthirsty conflicts such as so often occur in the freer atmosphere of German beer-gardens.

Statistics given on another page show that in spite of the policeman's heavy heel nearly three hundred thousand quarrels more or less violent have to be arranged by German courts of justice annually. The average German only respects other people's rights and susceptibilities just so far as the law, plus the policeman's sword and revolver, compels him to do so. He is ever on the *qui vive* to assert himself (*sich geltend machen*), and more often than not collides with another, who is out on the same mission of culture.

In spite of police laws and a systematized penal

code of so many numbered paragraphs, forbidding everything from crime down to offences against good form, Germany is still the classic land of the "freed ego." German philosophy has various clumsy epithets to define this license, such as *das befreite Ich, das losgerissene Ich.*[3] Immanuel Kant is the apostle of this deliverance; the whole trend of his system is the freeing of the human mind, or ego, from the trammels of tradition and custom.

Above all, the homage demanded by and paid to traditional religion, cramped the ego, therefore it is inimical to true intellectual progress. Kant taught, and his doctrine finds general acceptance in educated Germany, that mental growth during preceding ages had been along wrong lines.

The suzerainty of the Church had warped, confined and misdirected the development of human thought, wherefore a new beginning must be made, tradition broken with, and the intellectual spark led back to its true course as the entirely independent, delivered, critical ego.

One contemporary, the philosopher of sentiment, F. H. Jacobi, bemoaned the fact that Kant had only permitted the world to consist of ego, while another, the heroic Fichte, gladly seized upon this subjective idealism and built upon it his "Wissenschaftslehre" (1794). As the philosopher of liberty he recog-

[3] The "delivered ego" or "the ego torn loose." Terms which came into vogue during the early part of the last century.

nized not "being" but only "doing"— action. In his system he endeavours to explain everything from the development of the ego, while all else is mere nature (*Nicht-Ich*) or non-ego. The boldness and moral force with which he laid down these principles were not without effect on his Jena pupils, while without doubt Schelling's natural and Hegel's mental philosophy both grew out of Fichte's "Wissenschaftslehre." During Schelling's Jena period all his work was an endeavour to prove the identity of mind and nature (*Ich* and *Nicht-Ich*).

The whole of the Romantic movement in Germany occupied itself with the problem of the ego — principally its pathological phenomena. It is instructive too, that of all English writers in the nineteenth century, no other appealed so forcibly to the German mind, and no other holds a higher place to-day in the estimation of modern Germany than Lord Byron with his morbid egoism.

It was left, however, to a layman to propound further the licence of egoism.[4] The writer in question is well known in modern Germany, but his name is seldom heard in England. Stirner was the first to claim, categorically, unlimited rights of self-assertion for the individual. He laughs to scorn the "thing" for itself; everything which, up till then, had been held sacred in religion, morality and justice he de-

[4] "Der Einzelne und sein Eigenthum" ("The Individual and his Possessions"), by Max Stirner. Published at Leipzig, 1845.

clared to be *idée fixe*. One quotation from his work will suffice to illustrate his position, as a development of what had gone before and as a forerunner of his great successor, Friedrich Nietzsche.

"Justice is a crack-brained idea, invented and foisted on to the world by a phantom. It is of no importance to me whether an action is just or unjust. If I am powerful enough to perform any deed whatsoever, then *eo ipso* I am justified in doing it. I am empowered by myself and require no other authorization or justification. Power! that am I alone. I am the mighty one, the possessor of power. Might and force exist only in me — the strong and mighty one."

Here, in brief, we have the seed of *Grössenwahn* (swelled-head) — the peculiar form of diseased egoism from which the whole German nation suffers. This is the *Leitmotif*, which runs through the vast literature of German aggression, whether it advocates militarism, naval or colonial expansion, but above all in the special section proceeding from Pan-German authors. The author has before him a modern history of philosophy,[5] which states Max Stirner's teachings in a concise form.

"I alone am the creator of myself and all things. I do not trouble about anything; seeing that I am

[5] "Die Philosophie im zweiten Drittel des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," by Arthur Drews, Professor of Philosophy at the Technical University, Karlsruhe. Published in 1913 at Leipzig.

a perishable being, I am nothing and this is proved by my death. Seeing that everything is only my creation, I am the only one" (*der Einzige*), "the only original and real being; then I am also the possessor of all things. The world is my property and as the 'only one' I have the right to do with it as I like, and use it according to my will. I am the sole standard and determiner of values, therefore all my decisions are made on purely egoistic grounds. Motives which are not egoistic are all *idées fixes* with which I have been unjustly inoculated during childhood. Not only the conceptions of morality and God belong to the category of fixed ideas, but also those of the State, society, humanity, but above all the idea of truth or impersonal reason" (*unpersönliche Vernunft*), "for there is only personal reason and that is embodied in me. Truth — co-called — is merely a creation of mine just as everything else. My world of thought is governed by me according to my taste, and is only the constant production or suspension of my thoughts. Feuerbach's ideal man is just another such phantom as the God of the orthodox; the idea of humanity and universal love is a last rest of the God-idea. He who sets up ideals or joins himself to any community whatever, is religious but not reasonable. He has, as Stirner expresses it, a crack-brained idea (*Sparren*)."

"The individual has no other law than to live according to the dictates of his free will; that is the

basis of Stirner's 'personalism.' From this point of view he has respect for nothing, neither for the material nor intellectual possessions of another, neither for his life nor that which the other holds sacred,—his religion, convictions, honour, etc. He does not shrink from perjury or even the vilest atrocities, if they gratify him or serve his well-being. Love, friendship and trust are all humbug. He rejects every kind of communism just as frankly as altruism. His personal anarchy and nihilism are only abstract possibilities which could not be realized in practice."

"In respect to theory he is a solecism pure and simple, although Stirner does not admit this, as he does not scruple to ascribe the same actuality to other egos. Egoism is the only logical attitude for the ego in regard to its originality and independence."

"The philosophic value of Stirner's work consists in having asserted and defended this doctrine in detail. And no matter how disagreeable his brutal candour may be, it still remains true that Stirner, with his explanation of the motives of human action, is throughout in the right." [6]

It is instructive to note at this point that during the period in which Dickens, Kingsley, Tom Hood and their school were teaching humanitarianism, and England's foremost thinkers had inscribed Jeremy Bentham's motto on their banner —"the greatest happiness to the greatest number"— German

[6] Professor Drews, on pages 24–5 of the work previously named.

thought remained introspective, occupying itself with itself, thereby missing the joy of life which found magnificent expression in other literatures. Germany was already committed to egoism, while England unfurled the banner of humanity; and this serves to illustrate the present writer's contention that the national ideals, bases of belief, motives of action accepted by the two nations are fundamentally different.

Dickens, together with others of his school, have had both admirers and imitators in Germany; but in the whole range of German literature there is no writer who stands out as a supreme lover of humanity. That literature contains no "Song of a Shirt," no "Bridge of Sighs," nor even a "Cry of the Children." On the other hand, it contains innumerable outpourings of *Weltschmerz, Sturm und Drang,* together with the personal woes of a hundred Werthers. English romanticism merged into a humanitarian movement — a joyous altruism, while Germany has never freed herself from the "subjective idealism" introduced by the sage of Koenigsberg. All in all, German literature for more than a century has reflected little else but "self," and not satisfied with her own over-production, she has adopted the groans, moans and sighs of Byronism.

But not only has Byron's morbid self-consciousness found a welcome in the German heart. Another and greater Englishman has been taken into the

Teutonic bosom, viz., Charles Darwin. The "struggle for existence" and "survival of the fittest" in the economy of nature are principles which appeal irresistibly to the strife-instincts of German character. Yet German thinkers are wrong in taking the struggle for existence — as it undoubtedly goes on in the natural world — and applying it in all its rude brutality to human affairs. They have entirely overlooked the greatest lesson of human history, that progress has been in the direction towards the elimination of brute force as a court of appeal.

The philosopher who has most influenced the imagination of modern Germany has been the one who taught that all differences must be settled, and all true progress achieved, by the methods in vogue among the monsters of antediluvian times. But in all this Friedrich Nietzsche overlooked the fact that his teaching is only an illustration of reversion to type.

Nietzsche's ancestors had settled in Germany in the early part of the eighteenth century. It is alleged that his ancestor had at that time renounced his Polish title of *Graf* (Count); in any case, Nietzsche revealed unlimited pride in his noble origin — a pride which may be compared to Byron's pride of ancestry. He was born in 1845 at Röcken, a village in the neighbourhood of Lützen, but on the death of his father — a pastor in the Lutheran church — the family settled in Schulpforta, where

young Nietzsche attended a classical school.[7] He is said to have shown an antipathy to religion quite early in life, although Deussen relates that when Nietzsche was confirmed at the age of seventeen, he displayed a "holy mood" before and after the ceremony.

Having obtained his *Reifezeugnis*[8] he spent a happy time in visiting the Rhine with his friend. This "joyous journey" of wine and serenades led them to Bonn, where they entered their names as students at the university. In a moment of enthusiasm he joined the students' corporation, Franconia, and went in for the usual duelling and beer-drinking of German university life. He seems, however, to have been disgusted with the atmosphere of brutality which characterizes these corporations, especially the *Biermaterialismus,* which induced him to sever his connection with the Franconia.

Among his fellow-students he was considered a queer fellow (*sonderbare Kauze*). During his twelve months in Bonn he composed music to Byron's "Manfred," a work which was not completed. On account of his short-sight Nietzsche hoped to be excused from military service — a hope which was not realized, for he passed and left the university in 1867 to enter the 4th Field Artillery Regiment in

[7] The sources of information concerning Nietzsche's life are limited, the principal ones being: "Das Leben Friedrich Nietzsche's," written by his sister, Elisabeth Foerster; and a work written by his school and university friend, Deussen, who afterwards became professor of philosophy at Kiel University.

[8] The certificate granted by German secondary schools which admits its owner to the university.

Naumburg. Only two months after joining the army, an accident in mounting a horse incapacitated him for the remainder of his year's military service.

In order to continue his academic studies, Nietzsche proceeded to Leipzig, and while preparing for his degree (*doctor philosophiæ*) received a most unexpected invitation to the chair of classical philology in Bâle University in 1869. A year later war broke out between France and Germany, and Nietzsche asked permission from the Swiss government to volunteer for active service; a request which was refused for reasons of neutrality, although the Swiss authorities allowed him to volunteer for ambulance work. After a period of training in Erlangen, he went to the battlefields of France and brought back wounded to Erlangen, only to become seriously ill himself. From that time till his death Nietzsche was never free from illness, which was the reason for resigning his professorship in 1879.

At first his works do not seem to have attracted friends or to have raised him in public esteem, but the tide turned when George Brandes held a course of lectures on his philosophy at Copenhagen in 1888. Nietzsche was overjoyed to learn that the lecture-hall was *zum Bersten voll* of eager hearers. From that date he became a stock subject at all universities in German-speaking countries — a development which met with criticism and condemnation [9] from healthy-

[9] *Vide* Nordau's work on "Entartungen" ("Reversions to type"), Vol. II., p. 360. "University teachers hold pass lectures

minded men. Yet in spite of hostility in ecclesiastical circles Nietzsche's epigrams and phrases became part and parcel of the popular language, though not always in their original sense. Such conceptions as those embodied in the terms superman and *Herrenmoral* fell on suitable soil.

During a visit to Italy in 1889 he had a paralytic stroke in the streets of Turin, the beginning of the long-drawn-out end, which came eleven years later. But before the dark night of madness closed over his intellect for ever, Nietzsche was called upon to feel some of the gall and bitterness concealed in his own poisonous teachings.

He writes:[10] "Although I am in my forty-fifth year, and have published fifteen books (one of them a *ne plus ultra* —"Zarathustra"), I am alone, ridiculously alone in Germany. There has not been a single moderately respectful review of even one of my books. Now they excuse me as being eccentric, pathological, mad. Evil and slanderous attacks are not lacking. A tone of unrestrained hostility prevails in the periodicals — learned and unlearned. But how is it, that no one ever protests against it? Nobody feels hurt, when I am abused. And for years no comfort, no drop of humanity — not a breath of love."

on the verbiage of a madman. They deserve contempt for being unable to distinguish between clear, logical thinking, and the disconnected imaginings of a raving maniac."

[10] "Briefe," I., p. 496.

There can be no doubt that Nietzsche identified himself more or less with his overman type: "If there are gods, how could I exist without being one!" In the last months before Nemesis overtook him, he generally signed his letters either "Dionysius" or "The Crucified One." The pitiless one became only too truly the object of a very general and special pity. As if to complete the irony of fate his death occurred on the anniversary of Christ's birth (December 25th, 1900). He was buried next to his parents in the little churchyard at Röcken — without any religious ceremony, and a Leipzig professor wrote in 1903: "It was an inspiring moment when a young German student stepped to the graveside in order to utter a few touching words of thanks in the name of German youth." Another tribute may be found in the lectures on Nietzsche delivered at Strasbourg University by Professor Ziegler.[11]

The latter's apology for Nietzsche's life and works is the same that has been advanced in favour of Lord Byron — the absence of a stern father's influence during his formative years. Ziegler concludes his lectures with the words: "His end is so sad and tragic that Hamlet's (*sic*) words come involuntarily to our lips: 'Oh, what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!'"

Nietzsche's teaching of the will to power is a

[11] "Friedrich Nietzsche," by Dr. T. Ziegler, Professor of Philosophy in Strasbourg University.

doctrine composed almost mechanically by mixing together the doctrines of Darwin and Schopenhauer. The will is derived from the latter, the struggle from the former — only not as a struggle for existence.

Darwin had the past, Nietzsche the future of mankind in his mind. According to the one, man has evolved from the monkey, and from man the other seeks to evolve the *Uebermensch.*[12] At least three interpretations of the idea are possible, viz.: (1) a higher species; (2) a new nobility; (3) the peerless genius. In "Zarathustra" the prevailing idea is that of a higher species; gods evolved from men. Nietzsche employs the term *Gottmensch* occasionally, instead of *Uebermensch;* but in a later work, "Antichrist," he writes: "Man is the end of the chain. The problem which I present herewith, is not what being shall spring from mankind in evolutionary succession, but which type of man we ought to select; ought to will as the higher, more desirable, more future-certain." Here the conception is still human, but in "Zarathustra" the superman is more than

[12] Nietzsche did not originate the term *Uebermensch* or overman. It had already been employed by Goethe, and probably before him. The following lines from *Faust* show that Goethe was familiar with the conception:

"Und was der ganzen Menschheit zugetheilt ist,
Will ich in meinem innern Selbst geniessen,
Mit meinem Geist das Höchst und Tiefste greifen,
Ihr Wohl und Weh auf meinen Busen häufen,
Und so mein eigen Selbst zu ihrem Selbst erweitern,
Und wie sie selbst, am End auch ich zerscheitern."

human, indeed, he is a sort of Darwinian phophecy.

Whatever the interpretation, however, Nietzsche does not seek to eliminate the weak, the crowd. They arouse his contempt; the only justification for their existence is that they are necessary for the strong. The supermen create their own morality by willing it; their power by self-assertion. They determine what is good — noble, lofty and powerful in contrast to bad — cowardly and common. Thereby they have only to think of themselves, and of others only in so far as the masses serve their ends. Thus his moral philosophy is anti-altruistic, indeed a morality of self, a veritable self-cult. In opposition to sophists and priests, who in all times have played havoc with "self-breeding" (*Selbstzucht*), Nietzsche proclaims egoism to be salvation, and blesses the doctrine of inconsiderate self-assertion. He declares that "an altruistic morality in which the ego and its self-selection is restrained, is in any case an evil, blighting morality and a bad symptom for the times in which it prevails."

English morality was and is utilitarian, not for the profit of the individual ego, however, but for the welfare of the totality, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," or, as Professor Ziegler writes, "English morality has been altruistic throughout"; a system which Nietzsche described as "slave-morality," or one in which the interests of the commonalty are considered and protected, or, to use the Darwin-

ian term, " selected." There is no morality for all, says Nietzsche; it serves either the slaves (*i.e.*, the masses) or the masters — the supermen. Therefore down with English utilitarianism, which is slave morality; the chosen ones, the noble and powerful, must force their will upon all, and accomplish themselves. In a word, that is *Herrenmoral,* the morality which permits the superman every license in asserting himself, incidentally sacrificing all other individuals and their rights to further his " selection." The overman is Nietzsche's idea of the fittest, and his " superman morality," the system and process of selection best calculated to produce that type. *Herrenmoral* is egoism, *Sklavenmoral* is altruism.

From these premises it is easy to see why Nietzsche was an inveterate enemy to Christianity. Christ's fundamental teachings are based upon " Thy will be done," while the mad philosopher proclaims " my will at all costs." The Son of Man sacrificed himself for the world, but the superman may sacrifice the world for his good. Christianity is self-abnegation, Nietzscheanism, self-assertion and glorification. Nietzsche's most violent gibes at Christianity were inspired by what he deemed to be its will-laming influence — its anti-egoism. How far this poison has permeated modern Germany will be seen in other chapters on German life and institutions, but in this place it is desirable to state Nietzsche's attitude to woman — the weaker. She serves no higher mission

than that of a plaything for, and a breeder of the superman. In "Zarathustra" he writes: "A man of depth can only think of women in an oriental manner, as a piece of goods which he can put under lock and key." Or in another place: "You are going among women? Then do not forget to take a whip."

His opinion of war at the present moment is not without interest. "It is idle dreaming to expect much, or anything at all from mankind, when they have forgotten how to make war. For the present we know no other means by which drowsy, decaying nations can be effectively aroused, except by those found in the rude energy of the battlefield; that deep impersonal hate; that cold-blooded murdering with a clear conscience; that common, organized, passionate joy in the annihilation of the enemy; that proud indifference to great losses, to one's own existence and that of one's friends; that deep earthquake-like shock to the soul which every great war produces. Just such a highly cultured, and therefore of a necessity, languid people, as that of modern Europe, requires not only wars, but the greatest and most awful of wars — that is to say occasional lapses into barbarism — in order that they may not lose their culture and existence, in the means of culture."

Besides the published sources for Nietzsche's biography there is another unpublished one. During his lifetime the philosopher wrote an autobiog-

raphy entitled "Ecce Homo"; his sister has published a private edition of it, but no copies are available. An excellent review of it appeared in "Das preussische Jahrbuch" for 1909. Nietzsche repeatedly exclaimed: "When 'Ecce Homo' is published, I shall be the greatest man in the world!" The work in question is a record of disease egoism. Its reviewer was evidently no admirer of Nietzsche, for he states that in "Ecce Homo" its author lies himself up to the level of deity. Nietzsche believed in the reality of his ideal "Zarathustra," and under a strong inclination to self-deification the last mask falls away, the "sovereign ego" breaks through the last restraining instincts and lives under the dictates of free will. In no measured terms the reviewer condemns Nietzsche to oblivion, at the same time admitting his teachings to be poison of the worst kind. "But is such an anarchist, who lies himself upwards to be a god, a teacher of humanity? Among all the thousands of his readers are there even three, who are capable of distilling any good from such destructive explosives? 'Ecce Homo' will cause many to open their eyes, who up till now have kept them closed in devout worship."

CHAPTER VIII

TREITSCHKE — PROPHET AND HISTORIAN

NIETZSCHE alone could never have become the inspirer of Germany's national effort to obtain world domination; his teachings would probably have worked towards disintegration, unless some other force had neutralized them or his theories had received a more general application. The man destined to raise Nietzsche's individual aggression to a higher plane, thereby making its practice an international danger, was likewise of foreign extraction. Heinrich von Treitschke was descended from a Czech family which settled in Germany during the second half of the seventeenth century, and his contemporaries bear witness that his facial type and physical temperament were quite Slavonic even after the lapse of two centuries.

Treitschke [1] was born at Dresden in 1834. As a schoolboy and youth he displayed considerable ability as well as personality. His father was an officer, and the hope was cherished that young Treitschke would also choose a military career — a hope shat-

[1] "Erinnerungen an Heinrich von Treitschke," by Adolf Hausrath. This work is an enthusiastic but non-critical example of hero-worship.

tered by lifelong deafness resulting from a severe illness during his boyhood.

In 1849 he witnessed the bloodshed consequent upon the "revolt of Dresden," but there is little to record of his early years except that on leaving the classical school his certificate bore testimony to high attainments, especially in history.

The first twelve months as a student were spent in Bonn, and it is noteworthy that Treitschke felt no attraction to the students' corporations; their colossal achievements in beer-drinking, which so often degenerated into free fights, disgusted him. On account of his deafness he attended few university lectures, but devoted himself with great zeal to private study.

It is characteristic of German university life that the student very rarely stays for several years at one university. After one or more terms he receives his ex-matriculation certificate, and, following his bent, passes on to another university. Thus none of Germany's famous men belong to one university in the sense that Oxford or Cambridge can claim many of England's great men. A German's *alma mater* is that particular university where he took his degree; in many cases he has not put in a single term there. Hence Treitschke's name is associated with Bonn, Leipzig, Tübingen and Heidelberg. At the last-named he took his doctorate; there, too, he came into conflict with a students' corporation — the Saxo-

Borussen — which ended in two challenges and one duel.

In another chapter the bullying methods of German corps-students and their hostile contempt for non-incorporated students (*Obscuranten*) is described at length.

One evening Treitschke found himself surrounded by a number of young fellows from the above-named society. Doubtless they hoped to humiliate him for his well-known antipathy to them. In the altercation one of them dubbed Treitschke *ein dummer Junge* (a silly young fellow). He immediately demanded satisfaction with pistols. The meeting took place, but passed off without bloodshed; the authorities, however, heard of the affair, and the Senate gave Treitschke eight days in *Karzer*[2] for issuing a challenge to fight with pistols. Nothing was said about the duel having taken place, a delinquency for which neither combatant was punished. Shortly afterwards Treitschke obtained his degree, together with his leaving certificate.

It is customary for the university registrar to enter all breaches of academic discipline and their punishments on the leaving certificate or *Ex-Matrikel.* Accordingly on that of Treitschke a record of his two challenges and eight days' confinement was made, but it is an error to state that he was " sent down " for these offences.[3] If German students were " sent

[2] Students' slang for university prison.

[3] Mr. Joseph McCabe, in his work on Treitschke, is responsible

down" for such everyday affairs — although no longer with pistols — then some forty per cent. of the academic youth would be compelled to find new paths in life.

Before completing his twenty-first year the future historian returned to his parental home as a *doctor philosophiæ* in 1855. Still he had no fixed plans for the future; his fiery, combative nature impelled him to a military career — a path closed to him by his affliction. Irresolution and constant change distinguish the years 1855 to 1866, when he finally became a Bismarckian.

The ideal of German unity had already become an obsession, an ideal which has the present writer's entire sympathy. Treitschke had already written and spoken on this theme. A youthful poem expressed a passionate desire to see that unity founded by the sword, a prophecy fulfilled in 1871. Curiously enough, his surroundings for some years were not those in which one would expect an apostle of German unity to find either inspiration or support. Certainly Treitschke found little enough of the latter either in Goettingen (Hannover) or Leipzig (Saxony). The rulers of the smaller German States were, for reasons of self-preservation, bitterly hostile to these ideas; yet for ten years Prussia's future

for this statement. A full account of these incidents may be found in Theodor Schiemann's "Heinrich von Treitschke's Lehr und Wanderjahre."

glorifier lived and taught Prussianism in the small States.

At Goettingen (1856) Treitschke devoted himself to poetry, but his virile cast of mind ultimately led him in 1857 to settle at Leipzig University, where he hoped paternal interest would enable him to obtain a professorship. For a year he worked hard on a question of social science, submitted the essay, which was approved by the Faculty, and with the permission of the Saxon Government he was granted the *venia legendi,* or the right to hold academic lectures.

His liberal and Prussian leanings soon became evident, giving the authorities considerable concern. In 1859 his father warned him that the Minister for Education, among other members of the Government, had expressed opinions which boded ill for the young lecturer. The elder Treitschke warned him that no one ought to accept a post in the service of the State unless he accepted the State as it is. In reply his son stated the doctrine of *akademische Lehrfreiheit,*[4] a defence which apparently satisfied the father. Notwithstanding this warning Treitschke continued to Prussianize; yet the outcome clearly proves that no German State tolerates a professor whose teachings are contrary to its wishes and interests.

At this period Treitschke's hostility to small States grew rapidly. His objection to them was that they are weak and therefore lacking that power which

[4] Dealt with on page 48.

is the first and only justification for a State's existence. This hatred, at first, was doubtless aroused against Bavaria, Saxony, Hannover, etc., because they prevented the realization of his political dream — the union of the German peoples under one ruler, a German Kaiser; later this became an irreconcilable antagonism to smaller States on principle.

No wonder the Saxon authorities looked askance at him, for the academic youth caught his enthusiasm and flocked to his lectures. He moved from one auditorium to another till the largest lecturing hall in Leipzig University could not accommodate his eager hearers. The crisis soon came; a remark made in one of his lectures to the effect that it was to be regretted, that Saxony had not been added to Prussia in 1815, led to an open breach. Practically he was asked to go on, and as Treitschke had intended for some time past to write a history of the German Confederation, he now announced his intention of devoting himself for a time to research work. The students signed a petition begging him to remain; his father wrote that, "after being a Saxon general for fifty years he was deeply wounded at his son becoming an apostle of Prussia."

He withdrew to Munich, where he applied his fiery spirit with unbounded enthusiasm to the history already referred to. In a few years Treitschke returned to Leipzig, but recognized the hopelessness of ever again teaching in a Saxon university. An

invitation to Freiburg University (Baden) in 1864 was accepted, but the pettiness prevailing there, both socially and academically, made a most uncongenial atmosphere.

During his Freiburg period he obtained Bismarck's permission to consult the Prussian State archives, an incident which led to the great Statesman offering him employment in Prussia. But Treitschke held other views on internal policy than Bismarck, hence, in spite of their mutual passion for German unity, Treitschke returned to Baden in 1866. There he became engaged to his future wife, Emma von Bodmann; while celebrating this event he was compelled to flee.

Baden threw in its lot with Austria in the war of 1866 and Treitschke's life was no longer safe in Freiburg. He returned to Berlin, but this time being without a position he was glad to accept Bismarck's offer of a post in Kiel University. From this year onward his Liberal leanings rapidly weakened, till as Bismarck's henchman his opinions became as Conservative as his Prussian masters could desire.

The absorption of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia was a step thoroughly in accordance with his political creed and probably inspired his work, "The Future of the North German States" (1866). Therein he pleaded for their complete annexation by Prussia. Regardless of his father's official position in Saxony, he furiously attacked the Saxon royal

house, which caused an open breach between himself and his parent. A reconciliation followed, however, shortly before the elder Treitschke's death in 1867.

From Kiel, Treitschke was removed to Heidelberg, where he finally established his reputation as an historian and publicist. One of his colleagues and later biographer (Adolf Hausrath) describes him at this period as being tall and thin, fiery and energetic. Blessed with the gift of eloquence, he captured the hearts of his students, fired their imaginations with his ideals, and when war broke out with France raised their enthusiasm to white heat.

As his deafness prevented him from hearing the bell which signalled the end of the lectures, Treitschke always requested a student in the front row to give him a sign to stop. But so much were they under the spell of his eloquence, that the signal was seldom given and the lecturer often exceeded his time by half an hour.

His advice to student-soldiers proceeding to the front in 1870, "Conquer at all costs," betrays the intense emotion with which he followed the struggle. Victory and the founding of the German Empire brought him — the *Kaiserherold* — real joy.[5]

During 1871 he was elected to the Reichstag and remained a member till 1888. In spite of having

[5] Bavaria retained special privileges with regard to peculiarly Bavarian questions — a fact which disgusted Treitschke not a little. He had hoped for a clean sweep and suspected Bismarck of weakness in this respect.

learned the deaf-and-dumb speech he was obliged to sit at the Press table in order to follow the debates by reading the reporters' shorthand notes. His popularity and influence were now secure, so that his removal to the chair of history in Berlin (1874) was only the natural fulfilment of long- cherished expectations. There young Germany flocked to hear him, as if his were the voice of a prophet and oracle.

In those days women were not admitted to German universities, or only as hearers by the grace of the professor. Treitschke refused to permit ladies in his lectures on any consideration.

He had no sympathy for the Jews or Social Democracy; both in speeches and pamphlets he attacked the former and received some drastic replies from the oppressed race. His attitude to the latter is comprehensible because the rise of German Democracy — the fourth estate — seemed to threaten his beloved ideals of Statecraft. "Treitschke viewed the movement from the point of view — of a man, of the whole of the nation, of the State and of the authority of the Crown. At every one of these points he felt himself hurt by the disorderly revolt of one class, by its international and anti-national declamations. He had always placed the State above Society, and now a portion of the latter wanted to violate the former in its own interests. The semi-education and presumption of the fourth

estate and its agitators seemed to him a danger to the civilization of his country." [6]

Treitschke was an aristocrat of personality and intellect. He had never been a Liberal in the full party meaning of the word, and in 1879 he left the National Liberals to identify himself entirely with Bismarck's party. His influence in parliament, though not so all-compelling as in the university, was powerful and his speeches commanded a respectful hearing. In religious matters he declared himself to be a free-thinker, yet there are evidences that his attitude changed considerably in later life.

Up to this point the real source of his influence has only been briefly mentioned; now it requires to be dealt with more exhaustively. In avowing the cause of German unity he voiced a yearning which had slumbered in Germany's heart for many years. Treitschke preached union, Bismarck realized it; both were, in a striking sense, men of the hour. They were the men who compelled a great movement, hitherto formless and helpless, into a concrete, tangible shape. Bismarck was the Statesman, Treitschke the Prophet. His message was a burning gospel, a consuming fire of nationalism. Through him Germany's past appeared in new colours and her future was filled with new hopes.

In his historical method Treitschke was no pioneer; on the other hand in glorifying his country's

[6] "Heinrich von Treitschke," by Erich Marcks, 1906.

past he did nothing new. His history was intended to cover the years 1815 up to his own time; as a matter of fact he only got down to the year 1848. Volume I appeared in 1879 and the fifth in 1894, two years before his death. During those years it was looked upon as the greatest contribution to German literature of the period. In the introduction he deals with German history from 1648 to 1815, then plunges into his subject, which is Prussian-German development up to Empire. Everything which had furthered this aim he seized upon and celebrated, while all that hindered the ideal he unhesitatingly condemned. Yet the work is not a history of the Prussian people in the sense of Green's "History of the English People," but rather a glorification of Prussia's ruling house, the Hohenzollerns.

He intended the work to be more than a mere record of facts; it was to educate German nationalism, and be an instrument for agitation and propaganda. Within these limits Treitschke's history achieved complete success. Moreover, there is nothing deserving of censure in cultivating German national spirit or singing praises of her past to a German public. The unlawful and harmful is to be found in what seemed to Treitschke and his school the next logical development. World-wide praise of Germany's struggle for unity has long since expressed the approval of humanity on that high endeavour. But success and victory were to Treit-

schke the harbingers of a still greater event. A united Germany is destined to become a world Germany. That is the essence of his message, preached with all the force of a fiery, compelling personality, and the generation to which he delivered it, intoxicated with national victory, lent him their willing ears.

Just as he had admonished his students in 1870 "to conquer at all costs," so now he taught the German nation to achieve world-domination at all costs and by any means. The Prussian State had become the German Empire, which in its turn was to be the "Super-State" of the earth.

The development of this dream coincides to a great extent with the growth of Treitschke's hate for England. He would have been dull indeed had he not perceived that this country was the greatest obstacle to the realization of his hopes.

"In German naval expansion (1884) Treitschke saw some of his own ideas taken up, and his hatred for England — which he had once loved and admired, and which at one period of his life had meant so much to him — became a part of his blood, as was the case with many others of the 1870 generation.

"Disparagement of England and her power, hate of English national egotism became dogmas, and he did much to impregnate German public opinion with them.[7]

A striking passage from Treitschke's own pen

[7] Erich Marcks' "Heinrich von Treitschke," p. 55. A lecture

will best show his attitude to this country. It is taken from "Zehn Jahre Deutscher Kämpfe" ("Ten Years of German Struggles"), p. 172. "No matter how highly one may think of British freedom, it is an indisputable fact that modern England is a reactionary power among the community of nations. Her world power is an obvious anachronism. It was founded in those good old times, when world-wars were won by naval battles and hired bands of mercenaries; when it was considered Statecraft to rob and accumulate well-situated naval fortresses and coaling stations in all the lands of the earth, thereby brutally ignoring their nature and history. In this century of great national States and national armies, such a cosmopolitan commercial power cannot permanently maintain itself. The time will and must come when Gibraltar will belong to Spain, Malta to Italy, Heligoland to Germany, and so on. It can easily happen that when England feels her vital interests to be in danger, she will once more amaze the world by a display of determined bravery. But the outlook of her Statesmen has become so absolutely narrow, and their world-view (*Weltanschauung*) just as grandfatherly in its limitations and musty conservatism, as was once the policy of the decaying Netherlands. Too rich, sur-

on Treitschke in honour of the tenth anniversary of his death. The lecture was delivered in all parts of Germany and published at Heidelberg in the same year, 1906.

feited, vulnerable at a hundred places in their vast possessions, the British feel that they have nothing more to wish for in the wide world. Further, they know that they have no weapons with which they could contend against the young and great powers of this century, except the played-out forces of a bygone age. Modern England is the shameless representative of barbarism in international law. It is her guilt, that naval warfare still bears — to the outrage of humanity — the character of privileged robbery. It was her opposition at the Brussels Congress which thwarted Germany's and Russia's proposals to limit the horrors of land wars. She was the screaming, but, thank God, cowardly advocate of Danish rights in Schleswig-Holstein. And after all these heaped-up examples of her incapacity, and in face of the narrow prejudices prevailing in British Statecraft, are we Germans to look up to that country as the noble-minded defender of international freedom and the European balance of power?"

Many similar attacks may be found scattered throughout Treitschke's writings, especially in "Die Politik." Readers acquainted with the habitual caution which German professors exercise when committing themselves to print can easily conceive how much more inflammatory Treitschke's declamations before his students must have been. German strength and efficiency contrasted with England's alleged decay and weakness made it an easy task to conclude that Germany was in the natural course

of events destined to dispossess the effete " robber " and rejuvenate the world.

Amid English surroundings, to some it may still be incomprehensible how these doctrines could have permeated a great nation. Above all it is necessary to understand that Trietschke captured the intellectuals of his day; his chair of history in Berlin was only one of many from which his teachings were being spread; his pupils soon occupied his and all other chairs of history in German universities.

Apart from the spread of Treitschkean ideas by means of the press and platform, it is easy to show that practically every educated German has come under his influence in the school. Before a teacher is appointed in a State school, he must have studied at a university, a regulation which applies equally to teachers of history. It is not in the least extraordinary that the most bitter enemies to England have always been the professors in German schools and universities. Professors and masters in the schools have imbibed their hostility at the university — the chief source.

In 1911 there were over three hundred thousand German boys between the ages of ten and twenty in the State Secondary Schools and two hundred and twelve thousand pupils in Secondary Schools for Girls. Taking into consideration that Treitschke's gospel of a world Germany was promulgated forty years ago, it is easy to imagine that in this generation there are exceedingly few who, at some

period or other, have not come under his influence.

In spite of the demonstrable weakness underlying the presumption that England is decayed and weak, while Germany is strong and efficient, it is easy to explain why the idea has received a national welcome. German character is peculiarly prone to envy and susceptible to flattery. England's mighty past and splendid present fed the fires of Teutonic envy. Simultaneously the prophecy of a world-compelling Germany flattered the nation. It never occurred to Treitschke that only that system which best meets the needs and satisfies the longings of the human ego can hope for general acceptance by humanity.

Comparing the systems of the two States it may be proved conclusively, that Germany has not evolved higher ideals of freedom, justice and honour than the accepted English standards of these principles. Treitschke knew better than most Germans that in those qualities and principles which make for the emancipation of the human race, England surpasses the best which Germany can offer. Hence he declares what we consider really valuable for culture to be "English cant," "sentimental utilitarianism," "ideals of the Manchester school," and consigns them to the international dust-heap. In their place, as we shall see in the next chapter, he offers mankind a stone for bread, in the form of idealized brute force, which, according to his gospel, is the great civilizer and emancipator of the world.

CHAPTER IX

TREITSCHKE'S STATE AND ITS MORALITY

NIETZSCHE held the individual to be the centre of all things, and according to the evolutionary doctrine concerning the "struggle for existence" which produces the "fittest," Neitzsche claimed unlimited licence for the individual who takes part in the battle of life. From the point of view of the individual, Treitschke's teachings are a complete negation of Neitzsche; he denies to the individual every right and liberty, except those accruing to him in and through the State. But just those claims which the philosopher made for the individual, the historian claims for his deified State, which is, in reality, merely a magnified ego. According to Treitschke the individual exists only to promote the welfare of the State; in return the latter protects him or sacrifices him in warfare.

The author of "Die Politik" [1] expressly states that the man must not be employed as an instru-

[1] "Die Politik" is a work in two volumes, containing roughly nine hundred pages. It was not written by Treitschke, but contains his lectures delivered in Berlin University, as collected from students' notebooks by M. Cornicelius. It was published in 1897, one year after Treitschke's death. "Die Politik" contains Treitschke's teachings concerning the State and Statecraft.

ment, and supports his contention by quoting Kant, but flatly contradicts his own doctrine in at least two different passages.[2] "The State does not, on principle, ask what is the individual's opinion, but it demands obedience. Its laws must be observed, whether willingly or unwillingly." "It would be vain presumption on the part of the individual if the State were to be considered a means for attaining the ends of its citizens. On the other hand the individual must subordinate himself to it, while in return the State interferes (*eingreifen*) in the life of the citizens in a protective and benevolent sense." Hence the evidences of Nietzsche's influence will be found in the lives of Germans as individuals, and that of Treitschke in the national life, in Germany's relations as a State to other States, and in her own internal government. Yet both these writers were apostles of aggression in one of two forms, the former individual, and the latter collective aggression.

Treitschke devotes many pages to the definition of a State. "It is a lawfully united people existing as an independent power;" or: "the State is the public power organized for defence and defiance;" again: "it is the sum total of all the individual wills of a people." [3] But the fundamental idea underlying his varying terms is always power.

[2] "Die Politik," Vol. I., pp. 32, 68.
[3] *Ibid.* I., p. 27.

Treitschke looked upon the State as the embodiment of the strength of all its units; the gathering up into itself of the national forces is the end and aim of the State, *i.e.*, the State itself is its own end and aim. Hence Power is the first principle of the State; its being is Will. Here Nietzsche's doctrine for the individual — the will to power — finds its parallel on an infinitely greater scale.

The question may be raised as to what the State is in actual life, for the definitions are by no means clear on the point. The State is no more nor less than the crowned head, the military power, and the bureaucracy, or in reality the monarch and the few score men who conceive and direct the policy of the country.

All impulses come from above, that is, the will of this small "real State" is imposed upon the masses forming the community. No German ever identifies himself with the State; the "man in the street" speaks of it either with awe or dislike. He is fully aware that he can exercise no influence upon its deliberations, but under certain conditions *der Staat* can dispose of his body, soul and chattels.

On the whole, Germans have unbounded confidence in the State, and this trust is based upon solid experience, for the State led them to victory in 1870, and since that time has organized the military, naval, commercial, economic and intellectual forces of the country in a manner never before attained in the his-

tory of the world. Therein lies a great danger because the resulting power possesses a momentum not under the control of the nation. A coterie develops the national strength and has unlimited rights in determining the object for which it shall be employed.

The present war is a striking instance — if such were necessary — of this Treitschkean doctrine and its application. During the period July 25th to July 31st, 1914, the German State made its final preparations for war; on August 1st a declaration of war was made upon Russia and four days later the Reichstag met to give its consent. On that occasion the Kaiser's theatrical demonstration to procure complete unity among the various parties was a very cheap recompense for ignoring the human right of a nation to decide in a question concerning its destiny. The national representatives were met with *un fait accompli* — war! — and no other course was open to them than to give it their unqualified support. All subsequent utterances of the Emperor and his spokesmen protesting that Germans are fighting for their homes and national existence, fall under the category of State deceptions. It is obvious that Germany is now fighting to protect hearth and home, including everything which Germans hold dear, but the imperial advocates omit the vital point, that the German State voluntarily placed these national goods at stake when there was no cogent reason for doing so.

The root of the German menace lies not so much in the chauvinistic propaganda which has been carried on in that country, but that one or two men had the power to set the machine going; when the mechanism is in motion the State holds the reins and can prevent questions or opposition of any kind.

Probably the greatest piece of cynicism which Bismarck imposed upon Germany and the world is German suffrage. Every man on attaining his twenty-fifth year has a vote for imperial representation. There are no property qualifications, no plurality of votes, no residence or income restrictions [4]; yet the Reichstag has actually no power in determining questions of national destiny; it is just as effective as a first-class debating society.

In theory the German Parliament has the power to vote supplies; should the popular representatives refuse "financial aid" then, according to the constitution, the Kaiser possesses power similar to Charles the First's claims in regard to ship-money. A "national emergency" would result which invests the monarch, chosen by God, with unlimited powers. Such a dead-lock actually occurred in the Austrian Empire during March, 1914. The Austrian Reichstag refused a vote for the army and was immediately adjourned. Under paragraph fourteen [5] of

[4] A court of law can deprive a man of his civic rights for a period of years for a criminal act.

[5] The author was in Vienna at the time and is quoting from memory what he read in Austrian papers.

the Constitution the Emperor Franz Joseph signed the necessary documents, and the taxes became legal without parliamentary consent.

In Berlin everything is done by intrigue and wheedling to obtain a majority in support of the State's proposals so as to avoid a popular crisis — to preserve the farce of popular government; but the fact remains that neither the Kaiser nor his ministers (*i.e.*, the real State) are responsible to the nation as represented in the German Reichstag.

Within the last decade a leading Conservative expressed the opinion that the Kaiser had the right to send a lieutenant and a squad of soldiers to close the Reichstag at any moment. In spite of the outcry which his statement evoked, that represents exactly the Kaiser's constitutional powers, and it would be futile to argue that the majority of the nation does not give either tacit or expressed consent to these conditions.

German Liberals would immediately answer any interrogation on the point: —"We prefer, in the last resort, to be in the hands of the Emperor rather than fall victims to Social Democracy, which would hold the reins of power under any system of representative government." In England we are accustomed to depute — under potent restrictions — national affairs to the conduct of the national representatives, who are responsible for their proper execution; it cannot be too often emphasized that these

conditions do not prevail in Germany. There the Parliament has not the power to decide for peace or war; it has not the power to ratify treaties or to cultivate friendship with other powers. In the light of these facts it is interesting to consider the utterances of German peace delegates in this country and in their own home.

Whenever representatives of Germany's Parliament or Church have pledged German friendship and benevolence, they have promised something over which they could evercise no determining power.[6] Unfortunately an undiscerning section of the British public accepted these effusions at their face value instead of regarding them as equal in worth to the " small-talk " with which a diligent employee fills up the intervals in conversation with a customer with whom he is doing business.

Whatever bitterness we may feel against Germany at the present time, should not blind us to the fact that German State organization is a wonderful method for getting the last ounce out of every citizen. Germany, before the war, might have been very aptly compared to a huge bee-hive. The deplorable side is, however, that the accumulated wealth and national strength can be turned into any channel

[6] If Mr. A. concludes a business arrangement with Mr. B.'s shop-assistant, English law frees Mr. B. from the fulfilment of the contract. In the case of the German State, the latter recognizes no promises made by its citizens, and further reserves to itself the right, to keep or break obligations contracted by itself.

which the ruling coterie may choose, without previously consulting the national will. Such power should never be at the disposition of one man or even a few, especially when these men admit responsibility to no earthly power. Treitschke insists upon "the absolute independence of the State from every other power on earth."

The German people could only call the State to account by a revolution, an event of exceeding improbability. If the Allies are unable by force of arms to compel that State to recognize its responsibility, then certainly no other earthly power may hope to achieve that object for many generations to come; but that aim having been once attained, it behoves England never again to rely upon Mr. Keir Hardie's nod to bring the German State to a sense of the responsibility which its enormous power should inspire.

It may be that after Germany's navy and army have been broken, the German people will emancipate themselves from the yoke of autocracy; such an emancipation is, acording to Treitschke, mere anarchy. He writes:[7] "If the State can no longer carry out what it wills, then it founders amid anarchy." For this eventuality he is also prepared. "When faced by ruin, we extol the State which succumbs sword in hand."[8] It must be noted, how-

[7] "Die Politik," I., p. 28.
[8] *Ibid.* I., p. 100.

ever, that Poland's downfall — to cite only one instance — sword in hand, has aroused little admiration among Germans, and the same may be safely assumed with regard to Belgium. Treitschke himself designates Poland's fight for nationality and freedom, as "mad-brained stubbornness" (*hirnverbrannte Verstocktheit*).

Having seen that the State is identical with power (*i.e.*, armaments), we will examine Treitschke's *raison d'être* for organized force. "The protection of its citizens by force of arms is the first and fundamental duty of the State." "The State which has no right of arms (*Waffenrecht*) is no longer a State in any sense of the word. It is essential to a State that it have the power to accomplish its will by physical force. Without arms the effectiveness of the State's will is absolutely impossible." [9] In reply to this argument, one of Treitschke's opponents [10] quotes England as a refutation. Pfarrer Umfrid writes: "The army in England is only an exterior, a dependent factor in English life, yet the State is able to exist."

Treitschke, in his perverse desire to recognize power as the supreme virtue, overlooks the question "In whose hands shall this power be placed?" It seems to him a matter of indifference who controls

[9] 'Die Politik," II., p. 322.

[10] "Anti-Treitschke," by O. Umfrid, Lutheran pastor in Stuttgart. Practically the only voice — a rather insignificant one — which has been raised against Treitschke's barbarous theories.

it, or for what end it shall be employed. According to him only one use is immoral — the defence of another country; from which it follows that the English State in defending Belgium is committing a highly immoral act! Nevertheless he stigmatizes England "cowardly" for not having taken up arms in defence of Schleswig-Holstein.[11] (It may well be asked whether Treitschke was really capable of logical thought, he condemns a brave-immoral action equally with a cowardly-moral one!) Without discussing the point in more detail, it may at once be pointed out, that Treitschke's plea for the State to be identical with power, is because he recognizes might as right. There is one qualification, however, even to this principle, but Treitschke is careful not to state it. Might is right only when the might is at the disposition of the German State. Should England, for example, possess the power and deign to exercise it against Germany, then that power is no longer right — it becomes immoral bullying.

We have already seen that Treitschke's State recognizes no earthly power, and the preservation of this supreme independence is another justification for the might of the State. "In order to preserve this independence the State must possess such an abundance of armaments (*Machtmittel*) that they suffice to protect it against foreign influences." In fact he finds the inalienable essence of a State's sov-

[11] *Vide* p. 166.

ereignty to be in force of arms.[12] The State whose sovereignty is guaranteed by the weapons of another State is not a State at all.

Thus in so many words Treitschke rules the small State out of court. In another place he is still more explicit:[13] "Further the State must possess sufficient material power to be able to maintain by force the independence which exists on paper." Belgium not possessing these material forces, consequently, has no right to exist as a State, and in due course the same applies to Holland and Switzerland. Not in vain have Germans been charged with a lack of humour, otherwise Treitschke and his compatriots would have seen what this principle involves. In effect it means that every man has the right to appropriate his neighbour's household gods, unless his neighbour is stronger than he and able to defend them with sword and pistol. From the German point of view this latter conclusion would be false, because it is an application to the details of life of principles which Treitschke evolved as a part of his world-view (*Weltanschauung*).

It is hardly necessary to ask Treitschke's opinion on the next duty of the State; its first duty is to possess power, logically the second must be to use it. "The second essential function of the State is the waging of war. That the world has failed to recog-

[12] "Die Politik," II., p. 322.
[13] *Ibid.* I., p. 41.

nize this before is a proof of how unmanly Statecraft had become in the hands of mere laymen. In our century, since Clausewitz, this sentimental interpretation has disappeared. A one-sided materialistic doctrine has sprung up in its place, which after the manner of the Manchester school, regards man as a two-legged being whose destiny is to be bought as cheaply, and sold as dearly as possible. That this conception is hostile to the idea of war, is obvious; only after the experiences of recent wars (1866 and 1870) has a healthy opinion of the State and its military power begun gradually to make itself evident. Without war there would be no States at all. All States known to us have arisen through war. Hence war will last to the end of history, so long as there is a plurality of States. That it could ever become otherwise, it is impossible to deduce either from the laws of logic or from human nature, neither is it in any way to be desired." [14]

Granting Treitschke's definition of the Manchester school, then it is difficult to see that a man's lot in the shambles of a battlefield is better or higher than if he is bought and sold by modern "materialists." In the latter case the man's right to live is admitted, while according to Treitschke he has no such right, although it is hard to believe that the Almighty brought his creatures into being merely to satisfy Treitschke's demand for cannon fodder.

[14] "Die Politik," I., p. 72.

Here again we touch bed-rock in German sentiment — the indifference to human life.

The writer has known hundreds of Germans who would put themselves to endless trouble and no little expense to feed our feathered friends during the severe continental winter, yet these same men would consider it an honour to shoot a man at twenty paces over some trifling difference arising in daily life. Germans have not yet dreamed of the "sacredness of human life." This is a phrase remarkable by its absence from their language and literature. Attempted suicide is no crime in Germany; the man who kills his opponent in a duel is no criminal, either in the eyes of the law or in public opinion — it is even possible that the latter will acclaim him a hero. His offence may lead to a sentence of "two years' fortress arrest," but after six weeks or two months a benevolent monarch generally pardons him.[15]

German law protects property more stringently than human life — the latter costs nothing. For arson a man may get six to ten years' penal servitude, but if he follows his enemy home from the beer-house and stabs him to death, the criminal is seldom condemned to more than four years' imprisonment.

[15] In Metz a lieutenant seduced the wife of a comrade. The officers' Court of "Honour" (?) decided that a duel must be fought; the wronged man was slain with the first shot; his murderer was condemned to two years' imprisonment in a fortress. Two months later (May, 1914) the Kaiser pardoned and reinstated him in the army.

In fact, four years is the average punishment for hundreds of these murders ("killing without intent") every year. Among Bavarian ruffians this phrase is native: "*Der Kerl wird mich einmal vier Fahre kosten!*" ("Sooner or later that fellow will cost me four years.") Before the courts this type of German hero pleads that he "has no knowledge of having committed the act," or he "was in such a rage, that he had lost control of himself, and cannot, therefore, be held responsible for his actions." A German magistrate accepts all such pleas in good faith, he takes into account the man's temperament, together with dozens of other vague considerations — with the above result. But if a drunken man should rave insults against H. M. the Kaiser, he will undoubtedly send him to prison for the longest term which the law allows.

Treitschke euphemistically calls war a "national law-suit," and declares that "when existing conditions no longer correspond to the proportion of relative strengths, if the State cannot prevail upon its neighbour to yield by peaceful means, then the national law-suit commences — war." [16]

Just as Nietzsche considered weakness in the individual a vice, so for Treitschke weakness in the State is a supreme sin — the sin against the Holy Ghost. War is the only remedy. "We may assert with certainty that war is the only cure for dis-

[16] "Die Politik," II., p. 552.

eased nations." [17] "A people which desires to rank among the powers must, from time to time, arouse and develop its energies by war. This truth has been confirmed again and again that a people only becomes a nation through war." [18]

War is, then, the great glorifier of mankind, it founds and preserves nations (incidentally it has destroyed them), without war there is no progress, only unmanly degeneration. Yet even Treitschke was not blind to war's horrors, although he immediately transforms the horror to a virtue. "Having to overcome one's human feelings for the sake of the Fatherland is the horrible in war, but in that lies its greatness." [19] "Its sublime majesty consists just in this, that in war one murders without passion." [20]

Not content with justifying war by every argument drawn from expediency and inhumanity, Treitschke finally gives war divine sanction; on page 552, volume II., of "Die Politik," he writes that "war is one of God's ordinances." In another place he preaches the inevitability of war because of human nature, the laws of logic and the plurality of States. Evidently feeling these causes to be insufficient in themselves, he announces that God wills it. Had Treitschke qualified his assertion by stating that "the German God ordains war," humanity would have had no difficulty in accepting his theory. A

[17] "Die Politik," I., p. 74. [18] *Ibid.* I., p. 60. [19] *Ibid.* II., p. 361. [20] *Ibid.* I., p. 77.

thousand years ago the brave, free man defended his cause, or avenged his private wrong, with his own strong arm. Doubtless he considered himself an instrument of divine justice and his sword one of God's ordinances. To-day an individual of the same type and class must, *nolens volens,* submit his private wrongs to the adjudication of a law court. Human progress has tended to eliminate an appeal to force in differences between individuals. Noble knights and robber knights in the Middle Ages would probably have declared forcibly and precisely, that such causes and quarrels as theirs would never in this world be settled by any other means than the sword; history and human development give them their answer.

Treitschke, with his gospel of force, stands on exactly the same ground — internationally, of course — as a robber knight. He acclaims armaments the be-all and end-all of human existence; to him the means — at best a necessary evil — became the end, the only ideal worth pursuing. Applying this to the individual, we may well admire the art of self-defence within certain limits and even admonish our youth to attain proficiency in it, but the prophet whose message insisted that every man should subordinate all his earthly interests, and exert all his energies in order to become a Jack Johnson, would be rightly considered a lunatic. That is, in its final result, the essence of Treitschke's message to nations. Unfor-

tunately Germany welcomed his as a prophet, the "apostle of Germanism," and from that date Germany has made it her highest ideal to become a trained prize-fighter among the nations, with the result that all her European neighbours have been compelled to imitate her or, according to Treitschke's doctrine, cease to exist.

But Treitschke would belie his nationality if he overlooked details. His swashbuckler State must not be wanting in arrogance, must not forget to vaunt its virtues and strength in orations similar to those delivered by Homer's heroes on the eve of mortal combat. "Without the self-respect which is peculiar to a nation, the feeling of community would be lacking. Fichte says, quite truly, 'A nation cannot do without arrogance (*Hochmut*).'"[21] "Without over-estimating itself no nation can ever attain to full consciousness of itself."[22] In another passage: "It is a false conception of the moral laws of politics to charge the State with having too irritable a feeling of honour." Considering that "honour" is the cause of every war — in Treitschke's opinion — then the national conception of honour is all-important. "In reality war is never waged in order to protect the lives and goods of citizens, but for the sake of honour."[23] (Contradicts his earlier assertion, p. 177.) In another chapter it has been shown

[21] "Die Politik," I., p. 282.
[22] *Ibid.* I., p. 29.
[23] *Ibid.* I., p. 80.

that the individual German's conception of personal honour is tainted with diseased egoism. The writer avers that the same applies to German national honour — it is based upon over-estimation and is supremely supersensitive.

Intercourse with natives of other countries is in no case so difficult as intercourse with Germans in Germany itself. In the shortest possible time a foreigner in German society, either high or low, would hear the alleged weaknesses and faults of his nation discussed. Without fear of contradiction, the author asserts, that no other nation practises and takes the same joy in this petty game of pin-pricks to such an extent as Germans. They are too unrefined to perceive the bad form, and to morbidly conceited to allow a victim to retort.

A young Nuremberg lawyer, in recounting such a *rencontre* with an English lady resident, actually boasted to the writer that he had caused tears to flow. Only praise or flattery of everything German is permissible; the man who — on request — expressed fair, dispassionate criticism became exceedingly unpopular. The report would be circulated, "*Wie der über Deutschland und die Deutschen schimpft!*" ("How he abuses Germany and the Germans.") All non-flattering opinions are classed as *Schimpf* (abuse), and all criticism of German policy by the journals of other lands falls under the head *Hetzerei* (stirring up strife).

For some years past hardly a week has gone by but the writer has been informed by the German press, "*die englische Zeitungen sind schon wieder bei der Hetzarbeit,*" ("the English papers are at it again").

Although the writer followed events in three London dailies (*Standard, Daily Mail* and *Daily News*), he never found any criticisms of Germany which a healthy-minded non-conceited nation could not have read without anger. But he read in German papers only too frequently, bitter, vituperative attacks upon England and the English, such as a decent press and a cultured public could not tolerate in time of peace. Treitschke preached arrogance and conceit; Germany has made a fair attempt to monopolize them as her own peculiar virtues. Adolf Hausrath called Treitschke "the Prophet of the national cause." [24]

Another writer, Count Freytag-Loringboren, Lt.-General commanding the 22nd Division, in his work entitled "War and Politics in Modern Times" (Berlin, 1911), lauds Treitschke as "the Apostle of Germanism." At this valuation we will accept him and sum up the apostle's gospel in the following form: The Hohenzollerns are the only earthly monarchs possessing divine right. Germans are the chosen people in whose hands might is always right.

[24] Adolf Hausrath's "Biography of Treitschke," p. 109.

They are empowered by right of might to say what they please of other peoples, and to treat them as they (the Germans) will.

CHAPTER X

MORE TREITSCHKIANA

THE "national law-suit" having commenced, Treitschke is very explicit as to the manner in which it must be waged; the object of war is, above all, to stab the enemy to the heart.

War is not humanity or justice; there must be no sentimentalism to disfigure the "majesty of dispassionate murder." Villages and towns must be burnt down, for without such examples it is impossible to achieve anything. "It is not humanity, but outrageous weakness if the German Empire in modern times does not act according to these principles.[1]

The publications of the Berlin General Staff afford ample proof that the German Empire has accepted this doctrine and the present war is an illustration of its practice. In the history of the Boer War published by the General Staff, specified charges of humanity are made against both Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener.

The tactics of the former at Paardeburg come in for special censure. It was an error for Lord Roberts to starve out Cronje and his four thousand Boers. The position should have been taken at the

[1] "Die Politik," II., p. 565.

point of the bayonet and several thousand Boers slain. Such a lesson in cold steel and "frightfulness" would probably have shortened the Boer War by eighteen months.

From the technical point of view this criticism may be justifiable, but in view of the consideration that English and Boers had to become fellow-citizens after the war, the General Staff is wrong. Moreover, had the English leaders followed German methods, it is questionable whether the Boers would have remained loyal during the present crisis.

On one point Treitschke is more generous than his compatriots of our day. He permits the State to employ any and all troops at its disposal. "The right of a State to make use of all its fighting forces in war is indisputable, no matter whether they are barbarians or civilized men."

On a small scale Germany has herself employed black troops and is doing so now, yet the advent of the Indian troops in the fighting line was the signal for an unprecedented outbreak of hate against England. *Simplicissimus* compared the British forces to a menagerie. A Nuremberg friend wrote to the author under the date Nov. 13th, 1914:—"To me it seems terribly barbarous on the part of England to let loose these wild tribes against our soldiers. And if the hatred for England has risen on that account to the highest pitch in our people, it is perfectly comprehensible."

Treitschke defines two states of war and lays down rules for the conduct of both. "In the midst of peace a condition of latent war may exist between two States." [2] During the last decade the "latent war" between England and Germany has been a never-ending topic of conversation in the Fatherland as well as a constant theme for articles in German reviews and newspapers. It became in fact part and parcel of every German's political creed. Under such conditions — according to Treitschke — the Statesman is permitted to take precautions before actual warfare commences. "The State must make it a duty to employ traitors in the enemy State for its own interest. If a State makes use of its enemy's conspirators for its own ends, this is certainly permissible." [3] As Umfrid writes in commenting on this axiom, "every kind of infamy is allowed by Treitschke." Justification for all the horrible crimes which Germany has committed in Belgium and France may be found in "Die Politik."

The Statesman who has lost the "national lawsuit" will find little sympathy in that work. "A Statesman has no right to warm his hands over the smoking ruins of his Fatherland and comfort himself with, 'I have never lied.' That is virtue for the monastery but not for Statecraft." [4]

We have been surprised at German intrigues in

[2] "Die Politik," II., p. 562. [3] *Ibid.* II., p. 560.
[4] *Ibid.* I., p. 110.

Egypt, India and South Africa, and the naïve section of the British public, who believed German Statesmen's protestations of love and peace, have received a still ruder shock. Yet lying has always been the foundation stone of German policy.

On August 1st, 1914, the semi-official *Cologne Gazette* published a statement that Germany had no intention of violating Belgian territory. Martial law had been proclaimed one day before, which means that even if the article in question did not actually originate in the German Foreign Office, it had at least been passed by the official censor. Before the acquisition of Kiau Chou, Germany assured the world that she had absolutely no intention of obtaining territorial aggrandizement. Yet when the treaty, leasing this portion of China to her had been signed, the Kaiser informed its negotiator, Prince Hohenlohe,[5] by telegram that he had just emptied a glass of champagne to his health and congratulated him upon having extended Germany's dominions. The devious and tortuous paths of German Statecraft would, however, be far less irritating, if Germany did not claim a monopoly of the innocence of the dove. The cunning of the serpent she possesses in a Machiavellian degree.

Lying and spying go hand in hand; spying is another of the State's sacred duties. Englishmen who have suffered from the so-called "spymania" will

[5] Hohenlohe's "Denkwürdigkeiten," Vol. II., p. 533.

not feel relieved at Treitschke's dictum, that "in modern national wars every good subject is a spy, therefore the expulsion of eighty thousand Germans from France in 1870 was a correct measure." Judging from what he has observed of the polite, prying German, in family, business and social life in Germany itself, the writer is inclined to believe Treitschke — if that writer intended his remarks to mean Germans — when he states that "every good [German] subject" is a latent, and when opportunity arises, an active spy. Germany's remarkable achievements in the domain of spying should cause no astonishment to those who know Germany and German character.

Returning to Treitschke's State there is still the question of treaty obligations to discuss. As the State recognizes no superior power on earth, it is evident that a binding treaty is something which it must regard with disfavour. "Every State for its own sake will limit its own sovereignty in certain respects. When States conclude treaties with one another, then their completeness as powers has been limited to a certain extent.

"A State cannot bind its will for the future in regard to another State. The State has no higher judge above it and therefore it will always conclude treaties with this mental reservation. Every power has the right to declare war whenever it chooses, and as treaties are cancelled by a declaration of war, so

every State can get rid of its treaties. Every State must see to it, that its treaties remain vigorous and do not become obsolete, thereby inducing another power to end them by war. Treaties which no longer correspond to existing conditions must be denounced and new ones, corresponding to the new order of things, must take their place. From these premises it follows that the establishment of an International Arbitration Court is incompatible with the nature of a State." [6]

This is the " scrap of paper " doctrine in its most brutally frank form. A pledge may be given for the moment, but it is not binding for the morrow. The State recognizes no higher power than itself, not even humanity. So long as it is profitable and convenient to observe a treaty — that is the honourable course; but when the same promise is unprofitable, it is obsolete — and " honour " demands that it be broken. In other words profit, honour and expediency are synonymous terms in Germany's code of morality.

The root must again be sought in Treitschke's idea of power. Promises may be made, but Germany only intends to keep them so long as the other State is strong enough to compel her to do so by force. In August, 1914, Germany probably believed that England was *unable* to protect Belgium's neutrality — therefore in dishonouring her promise Germany

[6] " Die Politik," I., pp. 37–8.

had the justice of might on her side. But it is still more likely that she believed England would be *unwilling* to defend her pledged word. Whichever supposition is right, the result remains the same — Germany did not possess the moral impulse (called honour), which compels an individual or a nation to fulfil an obligation which was binding both morally and legally.

Furthermore Germany broke her promise on principle, for it is one of the written laws in her code of Statecraft, that a treaty is only binding so long as the State wills it to be binding. A State does not exist in order to keep its promises to other States, or as Treitschke expresses himself: "The State is not there in order to vaunt flags or for the clanking of spurs and scabbards, but its mission is to force a way for justice on earth." Justice, however, does not mean treating your weaker neighbours with consideration or observing your written pledges to them. Nor can they make any claim, because they do not possess the might to enforce it. Justice is merely what might can accomplish. It is moral and just for Germany to crush Belgium because she has the power to do it. A way for justice has been forced through Belgium, and if Treitschke's yearnings should ever be realized a corresponding "path of justice" will be cut through Holland. His biographer, Hausrath,[7] reports a conversation with

[7] Hausrath's "Erinnerungen," p. 118.

Treitschke about colonies. "Cameroons," exclaimed Treitschke, "what do we want with that sand-heap! Let us take Holland, and then we shall have some colonies." Hausrath remarks that it was a good thing Treitschke did not express such opinions in the press. But he did in his university lectures, as given in "Die Politik," I., p. 118. "Germany will be happy only when she possesses the whole of her river [the Rhine]. It must be the indispensable task of German policy to win back the mouth of that stream." In its essence this is precisely the advice which Jezebel gave to Ahab in regard to Naboth's vineyard, but it may well be doubted whether Holland's vineyard would give the German Ahab contentment or happiness, while it is certain that its possession would only be employed as a means to attack the next vineyard. When we consider Germany's unprecedented progress during the last forty years dispassionately, we are forced to the conclusion that Germany has no reason to be dissatisfied with her national lot, but an insatiable avarice such as that from which all Germany is suffering, could never lead a nation to peaceful contentment, even if Germany were mistress of the world. Its only cure is eradication, by the same instrument with which she hoped to dominate Europe — viz., the sword. Treitschke's teachings could only have obtained their firm hold on the people, because of the innate predisposition to the exercise of brute force which lies in the national

character, another essential constituent of which is greed. In this soil the seeds of Treitschkeanism, or Ahabism, have developed into a national gospel. For that reason a member of the German peace society[8] wrote in his book against him:—"If Treitschke had no apostles I would not quarrel with him. But as he has founded a school, and as his name is shouted like a battle-cry from the opposing camp, he must be attacked. Treitschke is the German historian who has dragged the Muse of history from her lofty throne on to the side of party, and of national aggression. It is he who has given the halo of principle and justice to actually performed deeds of political violence."

If Germany's deeds of political violence had led to peace and progress in those lands against which they were perpetrated, some justification might be pleaded in their defence. But those territories upon which Germany has imposed her will are to-day the most discontented of all the domains under the rule of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Prussian Poland is the foreign province which has been longest under the German heel, hence the most progress may be expected in that unfortunate land. Yet after a century the Poles are more national, more anti-Prussian than at its beginning. A hundred years of Germanization, de-

[8] O. Umfrid, in his "Anti-Treitschke." This is the only protest against Treitschke which the author has been able to trace, but he could name a great many German works lauding Treitschke as Germany's apostle.

void of any element of reconciliation, pregnant with oppression and repression (efforts have been made to blot out even the Polish language), finds Poland as far as ever from accepting the German idea.

Five years ago the Prussian Diet passed a measure by which Polish lands could be expropriated to the crown. Since that brutal act any Polish landowner, whose sympathies were not sufficiently Prussian, could be ejected — at a price fixed by royal commissioners — and his lands divided into small holdings for the benefit of imported German peasants. Even this procedure has failed to create a pro-Prussian populace in torn and tyrannized Poland. The colonizing-military German is himself a trained, drilled, human tiger, and he endeavours, by perfection of system, to force the inhabitants of conquered lands into the same mould; fortunately every branch of the human family does not fit into the Prussian mould. The system has too few human and humane elements; it does not permit the individual to expand according to his nature, neither does it accord him even that degree of justice which is essential to build up a community of healthy, happy, contented human beings. One German authority may be quoted to bear out these statements. Professor Delbrück held a course of lectures in Berlin University on *Regierung und Volkswille* (Government and the Will of the People). In 1914 he published them and is responsible for the information that Polish children are com-

pelled to learn German; Polish recruits as a precautionary measure are divided among various regiments. According to Delbrück enormous sums have been spent in the expropriation of Polish estates and he admits that during the last twenty-five years no progress has been made in the work of pacification; on the contrary, the Poles are more anti-German than ever before.

Treitschke's concept of domination is best illustrated by the examples which he himself cites.[9] In certain parts of Russia — Livland, Kurland and Esnia — the nobility are of German origin — conquerors in previous centuries. These supermen have kept the people up till 1865, when slavery (*Leibeigenschaft*) was abolished, in a state of barbarism in order that the few could govern the many. That system of colonization meets with Treitschke's entire approval; naturally it would, for it is the realization of the German idea.[10] Nevertheless, it is a gross injustice, when modern Germans, from their lofty pedestal of *Kultur,* denounce in no measured terms Russian barbarism, for that selfsame barbarism, in vast tracts of western and southwest Russia, is almost entirely due to the reactionary domination of German landowners. In 1907 the author made the acquaintance of an Esnian lady

[9] "Die Politik," I., p. 127.

[10] *Ibid.* I., p. 206. In discussing Alsace-Lorraine, Treitschke says that a conquered land has no rights, only to be governed by force (*Staatsgewalt*).

resident in Munich, and from her heard how these barons retain all their national feelings and language,[11] and how the young girls on their estates are compelled to render the same privileges to these German-Russians in the twentieth century which robber knights exacted from female serfs in the golden days of medievalism.

Russian hatred for Germanism is not without cause, and this ruling class in certain parts of Russia is not supporting Russia in the present struggle, but we may be sure is assisting the invading German armies by every means in its power — especially with the characteristic German weapon known as spying.

The essence of Treitschke's gospel being the development of brute force and its use for aggression and national aggrandizement by war, it cannot be expected that his attitude to peace could be friendly. His bitterest gibes are directed against those who strive to reduce armaments and promote world peace. In one lecture Treitschke exclaimed: "These defenders of eternal peace are altogether a set of wrong-headed people!" Certainly this sentiment contains a minimum of tolerance towards opponents. He always betrays the same irritation in dealing with peace proposals. "The blind admirers of perpetual

[11] The German secret report published in the French Yellow Book expresses the hope that "the thousands of our German brothers who groan under the yoke of the Slav in the Baltic provinces" will again come under the German flag. The anonymous author maintains that it is a "national matter" to win them for Germany again.

peace are guilty of an error in logic, in that they either isolate the State or dream of a World-State which we have already shown to be an unreasonable [foolish] thing." [12]

"All the Peace-Pipe-Smokers in the world will never be able to bring about a condition of things, in which all the political powers are of one mind, and if they are not, only the sword can decide between them."

His ostensible arguments against world peace are that it is incompatible with human nature and that the State is its own judge, two points of view which have already been dealt with in this work.

In discussing arbitration, he assumes that no court could be impartial; furthermore it is a crime against its sovereignty for a State to permit other people to decide upon matters touching its interests; lastly no arbitration court possesses the necessary authority to enforce its rulings; but it is at least daring to assume that such a court, possessing the required dignity, impartiality and authority, can never be founded. It is, however, capable of historical proof that Germany has done everything within its power to postpone the creation of this court into the dim mists of the future. "In the question of Alsace-Lorraine, no judge could be impartial. Further, it is a matter of honour for a State to arbitrate such a question itself. That is to say, there can never be a decisive International Arbitration Tribunal. The sword, however,

[12] "Die Politik," I., p. 73.

will retain its right to the end of the world; therein lies the sacredness of war." [13]

Unfortunately for Treitschke's position two palpable fallacies may be pointed out in the above passage. He argues that the State's honour makes such a court impossible, but he overlooks the fact that the premise — the concept of honour — is a varying and by no means a constant factor. Germany's standard of honour means irreconcilability, declines any form of compromise and declares it dishonourable to unbend, to meet a conquered subject half way, or to allow him any other justice than the type known as the "mailed fist."

If all sovereign States accept this ideal, then the prospects for arbitration are bad indeed. In former times individuals accepted this so-called "honour," but with the exception of German duellists and a few others, including barbarous and man-eating tribes, civilized men have long ago abandoned it. Hence, there is every reason to hope that nations — which after all are made up of individuals, and ultimately express the sum-total of their personal ideals — will also abandon Germany's barbarian standard of honour. Treitschke defined war in another place as "dispassionate murder." Because this form of murder has existed from time immemorial, he presumes that it will last till the end of the world — therefore it is sacred — one of God's ordinances.

[13] "Die Politik," I., p. 38.

Since the first murder of passion — Cain's murder of his brother — was committed, murder has never ceased in the earth and we may presume that it never will. Therefore according to Treitschke's logic "passionate murder" is also sacred, and another divine ordinance.

One of his historical instances, quoted to show the horror of peaceful tendencies, is the flight of Dutch merchants before the invading armies of Louis XIV. His comment is: "This is the kind of unspeakable shame, to which the cowardly madness of those people leads, who hold peace to be the highest and greatest blessing."

If space permitted a great many passages might be quoted showing that Treitschke's glorification of war and brute force is at bottom mere envy and greed. Envy of those better placed, and the lust to gain their possessions by war. "In the dividing up of the world between the European powers, Germany has always fared too badly. And it is a vital existence-question for us whether we can become a power on the other side of the ocean. Otherwise we are faced with the monstrous prospect that England and Russia will divide the world between themselves, and one hardly knows which would be the more immoral and more horrible of the two — the Russian knout or the English purse." [14]

Evidently Treitschke left his hearers to conclude

[14] "Die Politik," I., pp. 42–3.

that the German sword is better than either knout or purse, although after the advertisement given to the German sword and *Kultur* during the present war, the world in general might well hesitate to concur in their alleged superiority. In addition to which the sneer at England's purse must seem strained to those who possess the most superficial acquaintance with German character.

No other country suffers from avaricious love of money in the same degree as modern Germany. The Englishman loves money for the power which it gives, and delights in spending it; while the German will sell his soul and honour to get lucre for the miser's joy in hoarding and worshipping it, *i.e.*, the German loves money for itself.

Treitschke was not even content with Mother Nature's treatment of his Fatherland, and in decrying the lack of nature's bounty he exclaims: "This Germany with her disgusting coasts was once the greatest maritime power in the world and, God willing, she shall be again." With true German logic he envies and hates the power which is first. Throughout all his works, the petty-minded man speaks, who lives in a cottage and hates the resident in a villa. It is the hate of ignorance, for Treitschke never saw England till two years before his death and then only for two months.

If these lines should meet the eye of any Englishmen who showed him hospitality at the end of 1894,

the following extract may enlighten them as to the depths of German ingratitude. His friend Paul Bailleu in his obituary sketch of Treitschke, which appeared in the monthly *Deutsche Rundschau* during 1896, describes Treitschke's first meeting with his friends after his return from England. Treitschke is talking and before his hearers " an English railway station with its ugly placards appears, which disgusts him. Then an hotel and English guests and their manners, which enrage him. (One listener utters a mild protest, while a second reminds him of Heine's diatribes against England.) Far too mild for me, he exclaimed, and the incomparable force of his stream of satiric description carried us all irresistibly away. Again and again we stood up, aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm by the passionate power of his eloquence, which like a primeval force of nature poured from him in sublimest words, expressing the most ideal world-view, but often too blazing up into flames of burning rage."

Unfortunately Herr Bailleu does not record the opinions on England which fired the enthusiasm of that little gathering of peace-loving Teutons. Perhaps it included an imaginary description of London falling into German hands, a possibility mentioned by Treitschke on another occasion.[15]

In view of Germany's alliance with Turkey, Treitschke's opinion of that power is of interest.

[15] " Die Politik," I., p. 77.

"It is to be hoped that in the near future the disgrace will be blotted out that such a power should ever have established itself on European soil.

"What has the Turkish Empire achieved in three centuries? It has only destroyed. It came rushing over the Occident like a huge avalanche of evil things, annihilating everything before it. Turkey is irreclaimable and will remain so in spite of all promises of freedom. To our mode of thought it is a foreign world, which cannot be reformed according to European ideas, but can only be overthrown." [16]

At last the author has found something in Treitschke's creed which is common to his own. It is the irony of history that Treitschke's ideal State is now allied to the "avalanche of evil things" in a common effort to annihilate civilization. But the alliance will not have been in vain if Treitschke's wish is realized and rotten Turkey is cast out of the European community.

Before leaving Treitschke, his attitude to religion deserves brief mention. Hausrath [17] says he called himself a freethinker, adding that great patience was necessary to hear his constant attacks on the theologians. "He never spoke of the clergy than as *die Pfaffen* [expresses great contempt], and they were in his opinion, a very inferior class of men." This too is worthy of note in deciding his ultimate influence upon his country.

[16] "Die Politik," II., p. 33. [17] Hausrath's "Erinnerungen," p. 128.

According to another eulogizer [18] he was a " Poet, Artist, Historian, Teacher, Orator and Publicist whose influence is paramount upon the German historians of to-day. Not these alone, but the whole of educated Germany looks up to him as a Prophet and Germany's Apostle."

The nation has absorbed only too thoroughly his mad, poisonous gospel of brute force and aggression, as the highest human ideal, and it would be hard to decide who is more blood-guilty — his dupes who precipitated the present war, or Treitschke himself who conceived the idea and made armaments an idol, and war a sacred duty.

[18] Marx's Lecture, " Heinrich von Treitschke," 1906.

CHAPTER XI

"THE REPTILE PRESS"— BISMARCK

THE purpose of the chapters on Germany's schools, universities, churches, etc., has been to show the soil upon which the poison of Pan-Germanism has flourished — in short, the conditions which favoured the growth of that remarkable plant. Those institutions have served not only as seed-beds, but also as channels through which the baneful ideas of aggression by brute force, Germany's mission as a world power, have been disseminated. Probably these alone would have been insufficient; they represent largely the domains within reach of the "spoken word." But the power of the "printed word" is infinitely greater.

The eloquence of a great preacher moves just as many people as may be able to find sitting or standing room within the four walls of his church; the newspaper, however, penetrates into nearly every home, and its appeal is made to a "congregation" counted by hundreds of thousands, which is certainly a reason why the national press should be honest and free.

Germans claim that the first newspaper originated in Augsburg in the form of commercial and shipping

leaflets given out by the great merchant family Fugger, of that city. Whether this be true or not is a matter only of historical interest, but it is of immediate interest to note that the German press has been left centuries behind by that of at least three other European powers: England, France, and Italy. In respect to freedom, *personnelle,* independence, speed of publication, uprightness, truthfulness, its telegraphic and other services, its circulation and distributive organizations, the London press is separated from that of Germany — to the latter's disadvantage — by a great gulf.

Enlightened Teutons often complain about the grandmotherliness which distinguishes many phases of their public life. Nowhere, perhaps, is the "grandmother" idea more applicable than to the German newspaper press, added to which she is a nasty, virulent-tongued old lady of the very worst grandmother type. She does not express the broad tenets of public opinion;[1] neither does she form and educate the latter in the best sense, but gives herself up to violent splenetic vapourings or heavy German sneers. Notwithstanding these facts, her utterances are accepted as gospel truths by untold millions.

[1] There is no consolidated enlightened public opinion in Germany. It is the State's first instinct of self-preservation to prevent such a phenomenon from making an appearance. There are no broadly accepted standards of right and wrong, which should express the national conscience, but rather a great many warring atoms of political, religious, and social creeds, loosely held together by ties of nationality and a united dislike of England.

When speaking of the British press the average man thinks at once of the London dailies. But the German press is not represented by the newspapers published in Berlin. In fact, at least two important organs have their home in Cologne and Frankfort-on-the-Main, viz., the *Kölnische Zeitung* and *Frankfurter Zeitung*. These two, with the *Berliner Tageblatt*, are the only three dailies to which one may with any stretch of the imagination apply the adjective "great." In common with all important organs, they are cumbersome affairs, issued in five daily editions.

Many local papers have one daily edition, but every paper of importance has at least two, a *Morgen-* and *Abendblatt*. The following instance will serve as an illustration of their slow methods:

The Austrian crown prince and his consort were murdered on the morning of June 28th, and the tragedy was announced in the evening of the same day by telegrams posted outside newspaper-offices. On Monday morning (June 29th) at 8:30 the author asked for a newspaper at the railway bookstall in Erlangen — there was none to be had. An hour later he inquired at the same source in Nuremberg, only to learn that no papers had arrived yet. Later in the day local and outside journals were on sale, containing a meagre account of the murder. On Tuesday two London papers arrived (published on Monday morning), which gave several columns

about the murder, biographies of its victims, portraits of them and views of Serajevo, etc. The German papers, also, which were published on the same Tuesday contained pretty full accounts, most of which, however, had been gleaned from English papers published on Monday, June 29th.[2] On the following Thursday in a lecture to a number of young men in training for the State Secondary Schools the author produced the English and German papers, to point out how much quicker London journals collected and distributed news in all parts of the world — a lesson for which the hearers displayed no sign of gratitude.

Even the richest concerns have comparatively few correspondents scattered about their own country, while outside its limits their foreign correspondents are indeed, few and far between. For news they rely almost entirely upon press agencies — including the officially subsidized Wolff Agency — London and Paris papers.

On many occasions the writer has told Germans that the Great English dailies had a correspondent in every important city of the world, but the information was received as if it were worthy of Baron

[2] Dr. Karl Peters, in his book on England, refers in drastic terms to the backwardness of the German journalistic world. He states that the principal instruments in the German editor's office are a pair of scissors, a pot of paste, and a brush. It is true. Big German papers steal by means of telegraph and letter-post, the smaller fry with scissors and paste-brush.

Münchhausen or with the qualification that the English government must pay huge sums to those papers as a kind of national propaganda. Journalistic enterprise is to all intents and purposes an unknown factor in modern Germany.

In 1906 a London daily commissioned the author to visit Augsburg and interview Major Parseval concerning his airship. The writer was received most kindly, but with naïve amazement that a journal could spend so much money — about five pounds — for such an object.

Few people in Germany ever believed that when the *Standard* changed hands about seven hundred thousand pounds was paid for it; while a little pamphlet published by the *Daily Mail* describing its rise and growth aroused mirthful ridicule. The average German could not be convinced that his Fatherland had anything to learn from other countries in respect to journalism.

A healthy-toned national press has long been one of Germany's most crying needs; responsible journals, which, like a great searchlight, would have illumined the dark corners of barrack life, the cynical injustice of courts-martial, the white-slavery among shop-girls and waitresses, the brutal egoism of student life — in short, the thousand and one evils and shams hidden under brilliant uniforms, which effectively prevent the elements of justice and good feeling between man and man. Instead of this we had

the spectacle of a press whose columns were filled with nauseous perverting details concerning Fürst Eulenburg, Frau Schoenebeck and their school; personal quarrels between editors and the washing of dirty linen in general; the war of creeds — religious and political; mutual abuse between the States comprising the German Empire;[3] all diluted with envy and bitter gall towards mankind in general.

A press of this order is exactly suited to further the ends of the Prussian State, and it is certain that the government, by means of legislation, has made the growth of any other kind quite impossible. In England one often reads the plea of justification in libel cases: "Fair comment on matters of public interest." Such a defence would be insufficient to keep a German editor from imprisonment or being mulcted in heavy fines. He must prove *berechtigte Interessen*[4] (justified interests), and of these, according to German laws, he has exceedingly few. Suppose for a moment that a journalist criticizes some military injustice, e.g., ill-treatment of soldiers, then he may be called upon to show what his "justified interest" in the concern is, failing which he would undoubtedly receive sentence. That the question is one of public interest and well-being avails him noth-

[3] *Das Vaterland,* a Bavarian paper, was founded for the purpose of attacking everything Prussian. It lived entirely upon scurrilous abuse. Its founder is said to have coined the epithet which has stuck to Prussians, viz., *Saupreusse* (Prussian sow!).

[4] Paragraph 193, German Penal Code (*Strafgesetzbuch*).

ing; the matter is no *direct* concern of his or his journal.

In practice the result is that only the State, military authorities or police have "justified interests," and in order that the author of the article may learn this lesson thoroughly he is condemned to a few months' imprisonment to meditate upon such an act of presumption — helping the State to look after its affairs!

In regard to questions of international import German newspapers have never been able to express more than a one-sided official view. Their political horizon lacks breadth, while any development of another European power in any quarter of the globe generally provoked diatribes about Germany being in danger, or that her interests had again been betrayed.

For three whole months in the spring of 1914 the entire German press occupied itself in a most violent attack on Russia; the only incitement which Russia had given to cause this avalanche of threats was the expressed intention of putting her own military house in order.[5] Germany may keep her "sword sharp,"

[5] No subject of conversation let loose more eloquence than that of Russia's rottenness, England's unpreparedness, and France's decay (?). Yet if either of these countries proposed reforms or more extended organization, they served as texts for embittered sermons on designs against peaceful Germany. The fact is that Germany desired to arrange not only her own affairs, but to dominate her neighbours' household affairs too, as witness the Kaiser's letters to Lord Tweedmouth.

her "powder dry," but any nation which dares to take similar precautions is charged with meditated treachery against the Fatherland, and myriads of great and little journals enter the field with invective, abuse and rankling hate. In such polemics even rulers of neighbouring lands may not hope to escape obscene and violent attack.

The opinion that Germany's press campaign against Russia was not without official sanction was confirmed by Bethmann-Hollweg's dark hints spoken in the Reichstag, directed to the same address. On the whole, however, the German press has shown itself to be sadly misinformed on international questions. During the fateful week preceding the war her papers gave very little attention to England's policy — the dominating factor in the whole situation — while they did give extensive reports of Italy's promises (?) to join in against the Triple Entente and of Japan's intention to declare war on Russia.

Every constant reader of German newspapers could not arrive at any other conclusion than that they are prevented from discussing German affairs with moderate freedom, but are permitted unlimited license in their gibes at foreign countries and monarchs, and it is only in such abusive attacks that any semblance of unity is ever visible. In what degree such campaigns were engineered by the official Press Bureau in Berlin it is impossible to determine, but

there is no evidence which proves that the "reptile press" is in any way less supine than in Bismarck's day. Its voice may be, and is, bought and sold. Its financial position is much too precarious to encourage the hope that they are above corruption.

The class of men — journalists are wretchedly paid and have no social status — who are engaged in the press world do not inspire confidence. The rich man whose son has compromised himself simply telephones to the papers and all reports are suppressed — for a consideration! If a flourishing business man does not advertise in the local papers he will certainly expose himself to vulgar attacks inspired by his competitors. The writer concurs entirely in a remark made to him by a prominent Bavarian:[6] "The German press is capable of anything!"

Unfortunately it is by no means easy to show how the authorities make use of the Press, but at least one tangible proof can be given that a host of papers receive public moneys. In every town and district a journal — nearly always the one with the greatest influence — is selected by the burgomaster and town council as their official organ. This paper bears the title *Amtsblatt* (official gazette), and in it alone, all civic and State announcements are made, such as requests for tenders, everything which falls under the head of bye-laws, military announcements, calls for

[6] Dr. Toenissen of Erlangen. This gentleman is a North German by birth, but highly esteemed in Bavaria. The present King Ludwig has been a guest in his home.

rates and taxes, regulations for public houses, etc. Everybody is morally compelled to take it, otherwise he would be unaware of the latest police, military and other official notices — ignorance would not protect him should he transgress one of them.

These journals never attack the authorities, for that would result in the most lucrative part of their business being transferred to some more servile editor. Germany suffers from a plethora of daily publications, the vast majority of which are wretchedly poor, therefore the certain source of income from town or State, is an inducement for which the proprietors will gladly sell an editorial conscience. Their columns are open to anything or everything which comes *von oben* (from above), to use the phrase usually employed in speaking of authorities and superiors in an indefinite sense.

In these insignificant publications, in common parlance *Käsblatt* (*i.e.*, a paper only fit for a salesman to use when wrapping up cheese), one can meet with articles which could not have emanated from the staff. Their style and contents betray the expert.

In such *Käsblätter,* articles appeared at intervals on England, the Navy, commercial rivalry between the two countries, Germany's need of a navy to deal with the English bully, and such-like themes, which displayed a real knowledge and intellectual grasp not to be found in the brain of a thirty-shillings-a-week newspaper man — the factotum of a German

Amtsblatt. In the university reading-room a large number of papers from all parts of Germany were accessible, but the mystery surrounding the able articles only deepened, when the writer observed that these articles appeared and reappeared at various times and places. Without the shadow of a doubt they had been circulated by some central office such as the "Official Press Bureau" or the "German Navy League," while their authors may have been statesmen or admirals — in any case able men.

Thus all German authorities have an ever open door by which their ideas can enter into nearly every home, for in addition to the moral compulsion compelling every man to subscribe to these journals their price is ridiculously low.

Two instances will suffice to illustrate the point. The Nuremberg *Amtsblatt* is the *Fränkischer Kurier,* an alleged organ of the National Liberal party; thirteen editions appear during the week, two on weekdays and an enlarged edition on Sunday mornings. Subscribers pay about 3s. 9d. per quarter, including delivery. In Erlangen there is the *Erlanger Tagblatt,* with one edition daily, costing sixpence per month.[7]

Very few German papers can demand a sale-price of one penny per day, except when single copies are

[7] German newspapers are sold by subscription. I have only seen newspapers sold in the streets of Berlin. Placards are not displayed.

sold on railway stations. Advertisements, too, are extraordinarily cheap, yet there is no doubt that the rates are determined, as in other lands, by the circulation.

Patriotic Germans were deeply wounded when their own Commissioner, in reporting on the national exhibit at the Chicago Exhibition, referred to the German manufactures department as " cheap and nasty." It is long since obvious that our cousins have done much to remove that slur, but it still deserves unqualified application to the German newspaper press. Even in the twentieth century it is encrusted with a thick coating of academic mustiness, through which modern progress has failed even to scratch. Its heaviness, lack of literary style, caustic sneers, love of personalities and polemic, cut a bad figure when compared with the English journalism of Defoe and the pamphleteers.

There is only one redeeming feature to the personal attacks: the law compels the editor to accept and publish a rejoinder if the victim desires, but the law cannot prevent him from haggling for weeks about its tone and form.

German capitalists do not appear to consider journalism a first-class investment, which probably accounts for the out-of-date telegraphic and telephonic services, as well as for the fact that really able men seldom enter the journalistic profession. It offers too few opportunities for genius. Furthermore, an

editor can very easily obtain board and lodging at the public expense, or find himself in the predicament of having to fight quite a series of duels. Such conditions have developed a talent for innuendoes and dastardly, veiled attacks, a parallel for which we may seek elsewhere in vain.

With regard to the proprietor or shareholders, their exasperation at the fetters which rob the press of its due freedom, or their desire to reform anything else "rotten in the State of Denmark," is easily kept within bounds by the danger — easily incurred — of having their entire printing and publishing plant seized and confiscated by the police.

Perhaps there is no better mirror through which to observe the everyday life of a nation than its public press, and the German press very truly reflects the national character: quarrelsome, vain, ostentatious, vulgar, above all unclean. Mention has already been made of the obscene reports of law cases, but if this point needs any confirmation it may be found in the advertisement columns — that happy hunting-ground of men and women seeking *liaisons*,[8] ladies

[8] The average German, on settling in another city, generally inserts an advertisement in a local paper seeking the acquaintance of a girl to accompany him on Sunday walks and excursions. Through police intervention these advertisements now generally take the form of "a gentleman seeks a wife" or "a gentleman wishes to exchange English lessons with a lady." The aim and result remain the same, although the form has become more peculiarly German.

seeking a quiet retreat, and other nauseous matters unfit to expatiate upon in this place.

One other source — or rather outlet — of this national uncleanness may be mentioned — the so-called humorous papers. The conception of a *Punch* has not yet found realization in Germany, and it would be difficult to name a comic paper published in the Fatherland which a decent family man would care to introduce to his home. Of these, the most popular — a fact which speaks volumes for German taste! — is the Munich weekly *Simplicissimus,* of which Professor Geiger, of Erlangen, once said to me "es ist ein Volksgift" (it is a national poison). Yet it may be found in thousands of well-to-do homes, restaurants and coffee-houses, public reading-rooms and barbers' shops, and until it offended the State by caricatures of the Crown Prince and the King of Bavaria, it could be purchased on every railway bookstall in the Empire. Most of the staff have seen the inside of a German prison.

The caricature of King Ludwig was perfectly harmless. It is a matter of common knowledge that his uniform never fits well, yet it was a criminal offence to draw him with his trousers all pleats and folds, with a joke underneath suggesting a similarity to a concertina. It is well to remember, however, that this paper was banned from the State railways on account of this joke and not as a punishment for the innumerable atrocious pictures which it has published

since 1902 of the English, Russian and Serbian royal families.

Simplicissimus represents perhaps better than anything else, German vulgarity, a statement more than confirmed by the applause which its efforts call forth. During the Morocco crisis one of its cartoons afforded mirth to millions of Teutons. In it the German Eagle was seen hovering — at a safe distance! — above the British Lion. Just as the latter raised his head from sleep the gallant eagle spat in his eye. Neither the artist nor his admirers perceived that spitting — even though it is characteristic of German ladies and gentlemen in public places — is after all no weapon with which to fight and destroy a lion.

Another effort made just before the present war represented the German Michael asleep. He was covered with rats; the whole horizon represented Russia, from where countless rats, representing Russians, swarmed up to Michael. Underneath one read the legend: "When will he wake up and slay these vermin!"

It would be utterly impossible to quote examples of their "suggestive" humour; this work would straightway receive a well-deserved boycott on the part of the English public and circulating libraries. Among the few good things which have appeared in *Simplicissimus* were the realistic articles from the pen of Ludwig Thoma, portraying the Bavarian peasant — his ignorance, superstition, his intensely

quarrelsome nature, and above all his brutality.

Suffice it to say that German humorous papers on the whole are conducted without any respect to ideals of good taste — politically, socially or morally. But the most unfortunate side is that they are exceedingly popular, and are likely to remain so till the day, when a cleaner and saner public opinion prevails to make them impossible.

In discussing *Simplicissimus* with Germans many will be met with, who deplore its existence; a far greater number will applaud it as the most brilliantly humorous (?) paper in the world, and some will assert that it is not a German paper at all. It is said to be in the hands of Jews who direct its entire policy. The writer can neither confirm nor combat this statement (the only apology offered by Germans who are really ashamed of it), but the evidence remains incontrovertible that Germans in untold numbers buy this "national poison," read and gloat over its contents. Somebody has said: "Show me what a man reads and I'll tell you what he is." *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

CHAPTER XII

THE SEAMY SIDE OF CULTURE

ON January 12th, 1915, several London dailies published the following letters, written by a professor at Berlin University. They appeared originally in the *Netherlands Review* and were translated by Professor Alexander Souter for the *Aberdeen Free Press*. Professor Souter is responsible for the English rendering.

"BERLIN, September 29th, 1914.

"*My dear Friend:*

"For months I have not written to a single foreigner: a foreigner is an enemy until he proves that he is not. One cannot rest neutral in relationship to Germany and the German people. Either one must consider Germany as the most perfect political creation that history has known, or one must approve her destruction, her extermination. A man who is not German knows nothing of Germany.

"We are morally and intellectually superior to all: without peers. It is the same with our organizations and our institutions.

"Wilhelm II., *deliciæ generis humani,* has always protected peace, right and honour, although it would have been possible for him by his power to annihilate everything. The greater his success, the more modest he has become.

"His Chancellor, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, the most eminent among men who are at present alive, does not know any higher cares than those of truth, loyalty and right. Our Army is, as it were, the image in miniature of the intelligence and the morality of the German people.

"We must sacrifice the best and the noblest among us in a war against the Russian brutes, the English mercenaries, and the Belgian fanatics. The French are those who are most like us.

"We shall have no peace as long as the three European meddlers will not be stricken down. We wish to have peace and security, and we shall guarantee it to others. We wish to be able to pursue our work of civilization. . . . We do good to everybody.

"England has a policy which reminds one of the European States of the eighteenth century. Germany, on the contrary, has taught the world to use conscience as the guide in diplomacy and to make war in a spirit of loyalty. England is going to her ruin. France may yet be saved. As to Russia, she must no more be our neighbour. This time we shall wipe the slate clean. Our true foe is England. Woe to you, Albion! God is with us, and is defending our just cause!

"ADOLF LASSON."

"BERLIN, September 30th.

"Dear Friend:

"Allow me to give you some further indication of what cultivated Germans are thinking.

"To-day, Holland can think what it wishes; but every action hostile to the German Empire would have the most serious consequences. For this Holland of to-day, we Germans have very little respect and sympathy. We are breathing, with full chest,

the large breath of History, and we know nothing about this wretched bourgeois existence.

"We have no friends. All fear us and look upon us as dangerous, because we are intelligent, active and morally superior. We are the freest people in the world. For we know how to obey.

"Our law is reason. Our force is the force of the mind; our victory the victory of that. That is why we are able to struggle against numerous enemies, as did Frederick II. in other days.

"The European conspiracy has woven around us a web of lies and slander.

"As for us, we are truthful, our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscience, the virtues of Christ. In a world of wickedness, we represent love, and God is with us!

"ADOLF LASSON."

Unfortunately Professor Lasson has not explained his conception of *Kultur;* he merely claims that Germans are the highest cultural products which history has hitherto brought into being. Even in this modest claim the learned philosopher is not in the least original, the present writer has heard many hundred Teutons proclaim the same thing.[1] We must turn to other sources to discover what *Kultur* implies. Recently the Kaiser informed an American interviewer that it meant the deepest and widest perception of the universe and all that it contains; in other words, enlightenment and knowledge.

[1] A French gentleman who had spent many years in Germany often said to his friends: "These people [the Germans] talk about nothing but *Kultur,* yet they have not the faintest idea of what *Kultur* really means."

One of the Kaiser's subjects [2] has given us a still wider definition: "In the conception *Kultur* we include everything which distinguishes man from the animal." An Englishman in the *Evening News*, proceeding on these lines, defined it "as the whole scheme of things as arranged according to the German ideal or point of view. It covers such diverse operations as going in to dinner and listening to lectures, it lays down laws for colonies and a course of reading, it arranges the drawing-room, the class-room and the emotions. It encourages national pride and a national preparation of the cabbage; it discourages pity, courteousness and lightness of touch; this last whether in the kitchen or in literature."

The author has no criticism to offer on these three interpretations; he will only add to the last one that it includes orderliness and punctuality — especially in the running of trains.[3] Nothing brings out innate Prussian rudeness quicker than an offence against his punctuality-deity. Bavarian trains and other arrangements are not always so exact as Prussian institutions, and North Germans, when travelling in Bavaria, do not hesitate to express themselves on the subject.

[2] Dr. Paul Michaelis, in his book, "Von Bismarck bis Bethmann" (Berlin, 1911), p. 273.

[3] In the first chapter of Dr. Carl Peters' book on England there is a mournful discourse about the unpunctuality of English trains and a contrast drawn with Prussian achievements in that domain. Peters is an interesting writer, but as he includes Sadism in his notion of individual culture we have no occasion to be angry with his strictures.

The writer has often heard an exasperated Prussian declaim about *diesen bayrischen Saustall*[4] when a train has been five minutes late. His *Kultur* has not taught him to respect the feelings of Bavarian fellow-travellers, but his doctrine of self-assertion permits him to go about Europe domineering over other people in their own country, greedily accepting their hospitality, and simultaneously wounding their susceptibilities.

After polluting the pavements of Italian streets, and the floors of Italian museums and cathedrals by his promiscuous habit of spitting, he returns to his beloved Prussia to sing *ich bin ein Preusse,*[5] and descant on *die dreckischen Italiener* (the filthy Italians). Neither Professor Lasson nor the humblest subject of Kaiser Wilhelm possesses sufficient humour to recall the proverb concerning self-praise, of which the German equivalent is *Eigenlob stinkt!*

After all, the definition of *Kultur* is not so important as the application of the idea underlying it. Here the English and German notions are diametrically opposed to each other. According to the latter *Kultur* is not intended to make a man nobler, it is not meant to refine him, raise his conception of character, nor have any bearing whatever upon his dealings with men.

The English are old-fashioned in expecting a man

[4] "Oh! this Bavarian pigsty!"

[5] "I am a Prussian," the first words of a Prussian national hymn.

of learning and enlightenment to develop nobler modes of life, purer manners and all the other "shibboleths" of English "sentimental utilitarianism." Knowledge and *Kultur* must be obtained for their own sake; they are not intended to transform the individual, and the individual has not to assimilate them in order to make himself and his fellow-men better and happier for their possession. It would seem, however, that England has decided to retain her out-of-date ideals, and this encourages the writer to discuss the seamy side of *Kultur*, although he is fully aware that from the German point of view the following considerations have no bearing upon the question at all.

Kultur implies punctual trains, a good tram-service, magnificent municipal theatres, gaudy restaurants, upright men in brilliant uniforms with heathen hearts, and fat policemen wearing sword and revolver, who treat the populace like a pack of fox-hounds. Incidentally it means vile sanitary arrangements in German houses, but these are not exteriors, and may be left out of the account. The word "exteriors" has let out the secret. *Kultur* consists of exteriors, and has no relation whatever to the things which are hidden beneath the surface. Indeed, the ability to talk Nietzsche and Kant, or simper over the latest extravagances of Strauss' music, gives an indulgence covering free love; while gay, well-fitting uniforms lend the right to trample on all ideas of human justice.

Kultur is really only one exterior, not many; it is whitewash — *the* exterior which hides the horrors of the German national sepulchre. As such it does not inspire our admiration nor arouse our envy. In fact, we should prefer to leave it severely alone, but the German attempt to whitewash the world with *Kultur* compels us to give it passing notice.

The writer has dealt with the question of morality in the Fatherland in another chapter. In support of the contention that immorality is widespread a number of proofs have been given. The *Verhältnis-System* does not flourish in vain; every year nearly five army corps of illegitimate children are born. To be precise, the average number of children born of unmarried German women during the period 1901 to 1910 was 178,115 per annum.[6]

In all civilized countries the home is considered the foundation of social and national existence. If the family loses its sanctity as an institution it is generally assumed that anti-moral forces are at work. Increased material prosperity has not led to an increase of marriages in Germany, but the number of divorces leaps higher year by year. The figures are:

NUMBER OF COUPLES WHO SOUGHT A DIVORCE

1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
17,600	18,290	19,889	20,746	22,334	23,174

[6] All figures quoted in this chapter are taken from the publications of the Imperial Statistic Office for the German Empire, Berlin.

NUMBER OF DIVORCES ACTUALLY GRANTED

1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
12,202	12,803	13,478	14,586	14,858	15,815

Paragraph 172 in the German penal code declares adultery an offence punishable with imprisonment up to six months. A prosecution is instituted only when the adulterer is officially denounced to the police.

The writer has heard and read of duels being fought as a result of adultery, but never heard of a case of imprisonment. Divorce cases are always taken in camera, and no report ever appears in the press.

Breach of promise cases are unknown in German law, and damages for a ruined home are also inadmissible. Germans consider damages as allowed in the English divorce court to be a proof that Englishmen have no sense of personal honour.

A few averages will suffice to indicate the amount of other forms of immorality. Between the years 1897 and 1907 there were 5,734 persons condemned for incest, and 8,411 individuals sentenced for unnatural sexual intercourse. During the same decade no fewer than 93,813 men and youths were before the courts for rape.

The appalling nature of these figures becomes evident when we pause for a moment to consider that the blond beast rapes 9,381 [7] of his *own* women and

[7] These figures do not include crimes for which no arrest could be made. During the summer of 1914 three young girls were violated in Erlangen and the police were unable to detect the criminals.

girls per annum, in times of peace, without the incitement of war and bloodshed. After grasping these facts it requires little imagination to comprehend the truth of the official reports issued by the French and Belgian governments chronicling the atrocities perpetrated in those lands during the present war. Yet we have the sorry spectacle of Messrs. Keir Hardie and Ramsay Macdonald shaking their heads and saying, "There is no proof." Will these gentlemen have the temerity to doubt the proofs given in German courts of justice? It is hard for them to admit that they have been the blind leaders of the blind, but it is exceedingly bitter for them to see myriads of their *Genossen* (comrades), from their "land of promise," brimming over with the teachings of Social Democracy, letting loose their latent brutality against the women and girls of Belgium and France. Militarism is not entirely responsible for these horrors; German militarism and German Social Democracy share the guilt between them. Militarism has trained and drilled the human tiger; Bebel, Marx, Liebknecht and Co. freed him from responsibility to God and man. The atrocities in Belgium are equally the fruits of Social Democratic doctrines and militarism, and the writer gives Mr. Keir Hardie's friends the first place.

Germany has become the classic land of both these forces — militarism and atheistic, immoral Social Democracy — and it is noteworthy that the Germans

in 1870 were far less brutal in warfare than in this struggle.[8]

During the past forty-four years Bebel, Engel and Marx' teachings have taken deep root in Germany; the writer has spent years in observing the results of Bebel's leaven of envy, and asserts that the German lower classes — represented by the 4¼ million men who voted for Social Democracy in 1912 — are brutal — whitewashed with a veneer of *Kultur,* and the statistics of German criminality confirm his assertion.

It would be unjust to charge German Social Democrats with all the crimes in peace or all the atrocities in war, but this fact must be reckoned with: millions of the Kaiser's soldiers are members of the party which has brought no good thing in religion, morality, or into everyday human affairs in modern Germany.

On the 30th of July, 1914, the writer's wife told him that the maid wished to leave her place immediately war broke out, in order to return to her parents. This would have placed us in an awkward predicament, so the writer asked for reasons. The girl — aged twenty-five, intelligent and experienced — replied that she would be afraid to remain in Erlan-

[8] In Appendix II. the statistics of crimes in the German Army and Navy are given. The writer considers that they support his point, that German militarism has contributed less to German criminality than Social Democratic doctrines have, during the past forty years.

gen for fear of the *Sozis*. On being further questioned it proved that she was really afraid of some crime of violence against her person by some member of the lower orders, whom she classed under the generic term *Sozi*. She was speaking from her own level in life, and speaking of her own class, therefore her fear was not the effect of female imagination. It is shared by all classes, for German ladies never walk in the beautiful forests or countryside without suitable escort.

In dealing with offences against young girls it is instructive to note the extent to which the German penal code condones them. Paragraph 182 runs: "He who seduces a girl under the age of sixteen is liable to imprisonment up to one year. A prosecution only follows when the parents or guardian denounce the offender to the police." The legal cunning betrayed in the last sentence deserves the severest condemnation; in practice it means that the vast majority of these crimes never come to light and the criminal goes unpunished.

Parents who have imbibed Herr Bebel's teachings that sexual desire must be gratified, and its gratification is something which concerns the individual alone, further that chastity is a thing of no consequence — such parents are amenable to a consideration in hard cash; and if the writer can believe his German acquaintances, that is just the method which the of-

fender chooses in order to prevent denunciation to the police.

A further selection from the penal code book before leaving the subject: for striking a monarch the punishment meted out is either death or penal servitude for life; the minimum penalty fixed for insulting the Kaiser, Crown Prince or members of other ruling families is two months' imprisonment. Insulting or libel in general is punished by a fine up to thirty pounds or imprisonment up to one year. Perjury is considered a very grave offence, the maximum penalty is ten years. On the other hand, for seriously wounding anyone a criminal cannot be condemned to more than five years' penal servitude.

Most of the cases which would be declared manslaughter or murder in English law are classified in Germany as "serious wounding with fatal consequences" and the judge inflicts a sentence of a few years — on an average, four. The statistics of criminality under this paragraph (No. 224) deserve quotation at length.

INFLICTING LIGHT BODILY INJURIES

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
No. of persons charged	35,226	34,453	32,999	31,775	30,466
No. of persons sentenced	27,418	26,803	25,677	24,668	23,745

INFLICTING SEVERE BODILY INJURIES

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
No. of persons charged	119,841	123,313	118,881	117,864	115,950
No. of persons convicted	94,471	97,235	93,175	92,193	90,881

MURDER AND MANSLAUGHTER

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
Persons charged	326	338	350	365	375
Persons convicted	280	300	292	303	322

With very few exceptions criminals condemned to death for murder are reprieved to penal servitude for life. The crimes of violence deserve careful attention; they are characteristic of Germany, and have excited comment from Treitschke and his protagonists — the peace party. The apostle of war wrote [9]: "There are epidemics of crime which are a very serious danger to a nation. Up to the early sixties it used to appear true that crimes of violence decreased, and that only crimes of fraud increased in peace time. Since then the stabbing custom has sprung up. All at once the working classes began to carry non-shutting knives (a sort of dagger), and the crimes of brutality, so prevalent in our time, have continually increased.

"The manner in which this blood-licking (*Blutleckerei*) spreads like an epidemic is truly awful, and the State must take precautionary measures against it. The same is true of the terrible increase in crimes of shame" (rapes, etc.).

The "precautionary measure" which the State has taken may be found in paragraph 224 of the German penal code. It is purely a penal measure of repression, and the penalty meted out is not stringent

[9] "Die Politik," II., p. 425.

enough for the offence. Treitschke's antagonist, Pfarrer Umfrid, frankly ascribes the increase of all these crimes to militarism. His argument is, if a man is trained compulsorily in the use of weapons, he naturally appeals to a weapon to settle his own quarrels.

The present writer admits militarism as one of the causes, but is inclined to adduce some others. Firstly, the innate brutality of the whole German nation and their worship of brute force. Secondly, the absence of any broad humanitarian movement in Germany during the nineteenth century, which would have spread higher ideals of human action and inculcated the sacredness of human life. Thirdly, the wholesale propagation of the doctrines of Social Democracy coincide with this awful increase in criminality.

Bebel and his school freed the individual from service to God and man, and opened the floodgates of class hatred. It is not surprising, if the working classes in Germany, after being taught that they are responsible neither to God nor man, take justice into their own hands. In any case, the fact remains that Germany holds the record among civilized nations, with an average of over four army corps wounded annually in time of peace.

Kultur teaches the richer classes to settle their quarrels by a duel, but it has no code of honour by which the workman may settle his, therefore the lat-

ter seizes either knife, pistol or beer-mug and obeys his instincts.

It is by no means an edifying sight to see two British workmen belabouring each other with fisticuffs, but it is a picture of social culture centuries in advance of anything which the working-classes of Germany can show, in spite of their universal acceptance of "human brotherhood."

If Englishmen play the game in their fights, little harm results, and a fair fight is a code of honour. Among Germans there is no "playing the game," ten may attack one; if the latter falls he may be kicked or beaten on the ground.

The ideals expressed in the popular phrase "fair play" have never dawned upon any section of the German public. Neither "fair play" nor "bully" have any equivalent in the German language. The German mind has not yet conceived these notions, therefore the German tongue has not learned to designate them. According to German ideas if you must fight, then you may kick, scratch, bite or stab — only win!

In the present war these Teutonic ideals — or rather absence of them — are simply projected on an infinite scale, and it is useless to scold at every act of piracy or every "blow below the belt." *Kultur* recognizes no belt. The same applies to German schoolboys. If they fight, the methods are the same, only the weapons are limited to boots, sticks and stones.

Brutality breaks out in early years, as may be proved by reference to the statistics of Courts for Youthful Offenders. In 1912 the following crimes were committed by boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen:

Rapes, 952; murders and manslaughter, 107; inflicting bodily injuries, 8,987; damage to property, 2,938; arson, 148. Crime has increased by leaps and bounds; in 1897 the number of crimes, of all kinds, claiming the attention of the authorities was 559,007. Ten years later the number had risen to 643,396.

A brutal bully is generally vindictive and revengeful, and the knife is not the only weapon which German criminals employ in their lust for revenge and destruction. If it is too dangerous to do an enemy bodily injury, then the next best way to wreak vengeance on him seems to be destruction of his property. It has an advantage, for the dastardly act can be perpetrated in the night and the chances of discovery are minimized. Reference has already been made to the fear which German peasants have of an enemy setting their barn and ricks alight.

The following figures justify this fear, although they give only a faint idea of the number of crimes against property, because the difficulty of detecting the criminal is indeed great in a country where victims and witnesses have a very real dread of future revenge.

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
No. of persons charged	26,393	26,325	25,719	25,605	24,756
No. of persons convicted	19,919	19,865	19,579	19,492	18,895

ARSON

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
No. of persons charged	620	608	667	546	600
No. of persons convicted	431	434	446	395	435

USING THREATS AND COMPULSION

	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911
No. of persons charged	17,471	17,534	16,665	16,119	16,183
No. of persons convicted	13,128	13,319	12,535	12,180	12,201

Evidence is not lacking that even Germans get tired of life in the pure atmosphere of Professor Lasson's peerless *Kultur*. The number of suicides increased from 11,836 in 1901 to 14,181 in 1911. The average number of suicides for these eleven years works out at 12,356. "The increase of suicides is the result not alone, and not in the first place, of neurotics induced by the struggle for life; but above all by the prevailing materialism and the consequent loss of proportion. Success is over-estimated, and accordingly too much importance is attached to failure." [10]

Notwithstanding this discouraging picture of the fruits of *Kultur*, Germany's War Lord views the future with optimism. In a speech delivered at Münster on August 31st, 1907, he said: "In this spirit,

[10] "Moral und Gesellschaft," by Fritz Berolzheimer.

old and new provinces, citizens, peasants and workmen should hold together to work in equal love and fidelity for the Fatherland. Then our German people will become the granite rock on which God can continue to build up and perfect His cultural task in the world. Then the poet's prophecy will be fulfilled which says: 'The world will be regenerated by German character (*Wesen*).'"

One of the commanders in the Emperor's army is not quite so confident as his master: "The progress of general civilization is unmistakable, but whether we have gained in inward culture remains more than doubtful. Modes of life have changed, but men are the same." [11]

A third quotation from German sources will suffice to complete this sketch of *Kultur's* seamy side.[12] "'Germany in front in the world.' With these words Bülow acclaimed his Fatherland to an astonished world. It was an exaggeration. Look at Greater-Prussian *Kultur* from any side you like — it presents everywhere a picture of decay and degeneration. The spirit has long since departed, only phlegma remains. Hurrah-patriotism has replaced love of Fatherland, and weak-kneed hypocrisy the spirit of independence.

"The pride of poverty and simple wants have

[11] "Krieg und Politik in der Neuzeit," by General Loringboren. Berlin, 1911.

[12] "Von Bismarck bis Bethmann," by Dr. Paul Michaelis. Berlin, 1911, p. 273.

given place to purse-proud snobbery and the greed of gold. In place of love for truth, there is treacherous 'correctness'; instead of the free heart and frank speech, timid, fearsome endeavours not to offend the powers-that-be. What we lack is the will to truth."

CHAPTER XIII

BAUERNFÄNGEREI

ROBERT BROWNING introduced the *Rattenfänger von Hameln*[1] to the English reading public, but there is a more important type of the genus "catcher," viz., *der Bauernfänger*. According to the old legend, the Pied Piper led away the rats and children of Hamelin by the seductive power of music. The *Bauernfänger* is, in the first place, a sharper (welsher?) who frequents country fairs and by means of a persuasive tongue catches "country yokels," or, in other words, swindles them; Moses in the "Vicar of Wakefield" fell a victim to this type of gentleman.

The *Bauernfänger* is an adept at getting something for nothing; he has a peculiar genius for suggesting false impressions; he induces his victims to do as he wishes them, but they remain in the dark as to his motives and aims — till the swindle is *un fait accompli*. These gentlemen know better than anyone else the weak side of humanity and understand how to turn men's vanity and credulity to their

[1] "Pied Piper of Hamelin," or, literally translated, the Rat Catcher of Hamelin.

own account. The dictionary translates *Bauernfänger* as "a confidence man," and his occult science, *Bauernfängerei,* is rendered as "the confidence trick."

For years the writer has heard England denounced as the "great confidence trickster," but in this chapter he hopes to turn the tables on his quondam friends by showing that the wiles of the "confidence man" are not unknown to the German State.

One of the honours which may be won in the German army deserves notice, the iron cross. This institution was founded on March 10th, 1813 (Queen Louisa's birthday), to reward acts of bravery in the Liberation War. If reports from Germany may be credited, the Kaiser has been lavish in bestowing this coveted honour. Assuming this to be true, the Emperor is only continuing in war, a custom long since established in peace — scattering broad-cast, empty honours to capture and deceive the multitude. It is the traditional method of German autocracy, to enable the nation to swallow and endure the system. In peace time the scattered honours are titles, medals and orders.

On January 1st Bavarian newspapers contain about eight columns of closely-printed names with their new titles attached.[2] Bavaria has a population of about 7,000,000 souls and a government office for the dis-

[2] In recent years many of the newspapers have declined to sacrifice their space to print these ever-increasing lists.

tribution of titles. King Ludwig's birthday and January 1st are the principal days for the wholesale distribution of honours to the populace.

When the Crown Prince of Austria was murdered, the Bavarian king was making his first royal progress, scattering titles with both hands in every town he visited. In 1910 his Royal Highness, then Prince Ludwig, visited Erlangen and read out long lists of new titles in the Town Hall and University Hall. The writer was present on the latter occasion and remembers how soundly the Prince slept during the patriotic speech of welcome. He remembers, too, the secret glee in university circles, because the Faculty of Philosophy had conferred an honorary doctorate on a personal enemy of the Prince. Probably the latter never heard that his host, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Lenk, was deeply insulted because he was awarded the " Prince Luitpold Medal " in silver, an honour which his Royal Highness had bestowed an hour previously on a sergeant of police! The learned professor talked of rejecting the proffered piece of silver, but " discretion was the better part of valour."

A few samples of the titles which rain annually on the thirsty land are: *Kommerzienrat* (commercial councillor); after a few years this is prefixed by the word Privy, and a still higher stage is Real-Privy-Commercial-Councillor. All three stages are empty humbug, for no " commercial council " exists, where

these men meet to discuss commerce or anything else. It is a cheap method of making a man important in the eyes of his compatriots. No; "cheap" is a misstatement, for the recipient pays from £800 to £1,500 for the honour.

A lawyer becomes *Herr Justizrat;* medical men, professors, burgomasters, etc., blossom into *Herr Geheimrat* (Privy Councillor), and later the prefix "Real" is added (*Wirklicher-Geheimer-Hofrat* = Real-Privy-Court-Councillor), but the Court never calls for any advice from the army of Real-Privy-Court-Councillors which ornament the cities, State universities and schools. But these gentlemen have gained in importance; the State has patted them encouragingly, and said, in effect: "What good and faithful little boys you are!"

The number of titles distributed in South Germany is, however, small in comparison to the myriads bestowed in Prussia, where the custom originated.

Yet it would be unjust to assume that all Germans approve of it; the writer has heard various men of learning express drastic criticism on the system. Some of them do not allow their friends to employ the title when addressing them. Workmen and other employees, including domestic servants, are awarded a bronze medal after twenty-five years' service in the same situation, but at death the honour has to be returned to the *Hofmarshallamt* (the government department which regulates the traffic in

titles, orders and medals). If the relatives wish to retain the medal, the State presents a modest bill for 1s. 6d. to cover its cost.

No one understands the weakness and vanity of German character better than the German State, and playing on this vanity is one of its trump cards in gaining popular acceptance for the autocratic idea. Titles, orders and medals help to console their recipients for the absence of true freedom, and help to attach them to the powers-that-be.

Bismarck's universal suffrage falls under this category. As mentioned in another place, every man has a vote after completing his twenty-fifth year. It is an empty privilege, for the Reichstag, when elected, has no voice in national affairs; the ministers who direct home and foreign policy are not responsible to the Parliament. When addressing the Reichstag on November 29th, 1881, Bismarck said: "Gentlemen, do not imagine that I serve you. I serve the Emperor alone." Yet he had established the system of every man a vote, and only one vote. It was the confidence trick on a large scale, an universal but worthless vote. Faithful to Treitschke's Statecraft, the German State never intended power to be in the hands of the people.

The system is openly styled *Bauernfängerei, anglice,* confidence trick; or the persuasive eloquence which a cheap-jack employs when foisting his worthless goods on the peasantry.

The writer's attention was first drawn to the German's love of titles in 1903, by Judge Baldwin, American Consul in Nuremberg. Mr. Baldwin has died since that time, so the author is free to refer to the many conversations which he had with a very respected friend.

In talking of titles Judge Baldwin expressed the opinion that the average German, will sell his soul for an empty title, and cited a case to prove his point. Up till the year 1901 no British Consul had been appointed in Nuremberg. Many local merchants were anxious to obtain the honour, for the title *Herr Consul* is an asset from the business and social point of view. Among the applicants was a Jewish gentleman named Herr Sigmund Ehrenbacher. As Herr Ehrenbacher had previously become a naturalized American subject, the English Foreign Office hesitated to give him the appointment. A compromise was made, on the lines that Herr Ehrenbacher had to renounce his American and revert to his German citizenship. Then he was made Honorary British Vice-Consul and held that post till his death in 1914. The naturalization papers went through Judge Baldwin's consular office, and the American Consul felt that it exemplified very aptly the longing for titles in every German breast, *i.e.*, American citizenship is not equal in value to the title *Herr Consul.*

About four years ago Mr. Winston Churchill visited Nuremberg, and was Herr Ehrenbacher's

guest; after Mr. Churchill's return to this country our American-German-British Vice-Consul was made a full British Consul. He told the writer that the promotion had followed on Mr. Churchill's recommendation. At the same time a clerk (Herr Simon) in Herr Ehrenbacher's office was appointed Acting British Vice-Consul, and if the writer may give credence to both the Consul and Vice-Consul, then Herr Ehrenbacher obtained his appointment from the English Foreign Office in 1901 through the influence of Jewish friends in this country.[3]

The foregoing considerations suffice to show that there is method in the seeming madness of the German State in scattering honours during peace and iron crosses in war-time.

It is easy to understand that the inhabitants of German villages are moved at the sight of an iron cross on the breast of a brawny son of the soil. The writer wishes by no means to depreciate the act of valour which won the honour, but merely to point out that the Victoria Cross is awarded for unique deeds of bravery, while the German cross is awarded for acts which we consider a part of a soldier's everyday duties. By this method the War Office at Berlin recognizes individual service, incites individual efforts, and exercises a moral influence on the people at home. It is an astute exploitation of human nature, a depart-

[3] The question of German British Consuls in various countries is discussed at length on page 341.

ment in which the German State is a supreme adept. It is successful at home, and has been extensively employed in Germany's dealings with England. It includes Friendship Committees, Hague Conferences, visits from deputations representing the German Church, interviews with *Daily Telegraph* correspondents, hospitality to English delegates in Germany, and all the other deceptions which some people in this country expected would bring about a lasting peace and friendship between the two great Germanic peoples.

The German State knew that just as in Germany, so, too, in England there are ill-informed people who will run after any phantom or defend any crack-brained idea, if it only transforms their natural insignificance into some sort of public importance. For the last decade the German State has piped to this section of the English public — and they have danced. They may be forgiven for what occurred in ignorance during peace-time, but that these misguided people continue to dance to the Berlin tune during war-time is a different matter.

In this section the writer includes all the pacifists who told England that Germany wanted peace, and he includes the Members of Parliament who visited Germany, but could not speak a word of German, a fact which made their tours through the Fatherland a farce. It is no crime not to learn German, but it is charlatanism of the worst kind to pose as an author-

ity on a country of which you are entirely ignorant.

In 1907 the writer was invited by the burgomaster of Nuremberg to certain festivities in honour of a party of English M.P.'s. Only one gentleman was able to speak German — Sir John Gorst. The party had an excellent reception in various German cities; they were toasted and feasted — and laughed at by their German hosts! The Germans were playing the game called *Bauernfängerei,* and they evidently caught some victims. Since that date Mr. Chiozza Money has posed in the *Daily News* as an authority on Germany, yet in 1907 he knew nothing of the German language or nation. Another M.P. in the party boasted that he had been the first to use German black bread and sausages as an election dodge. Some years previously a friend had sent him these articles, and he had filled a window in his constituency with black bread and so on. Of course, he won the seat, and after practising *Bauernfängerei* on English people, visited the Fatherland to let Germans amuse themselves at the same game.

Furthermore, it is instructive for voters to learn that candidates for parliamentary honours talked fluently about Germany, in support of Free Trade or Tariff Reform, without having studied Germany except in the Consular Reports sent to this country by German-British Consuls.

In peace-times there were Englishmen who made a large section of the public believe that they knew

and understood the German problem — the war has shown them up in their true character — charlatans!

Since the outbreak of war a small contingent of the charlatan party continues its endeavours to mislead the British public. Part of the propaganda (the aim of which is to arouse sympathy for Germany), consists in pleading for generosity towards the German people and hate for the German army. Here, again, their motives are good but their ignorance appalling.

Messrs. Keir Hardie and Ramsay Macdonald are in this contingent, while Mr. Bernard Shaw seems to be mixed up in it, in spite of his denials. The writer sympathizes with Mr. Shaw, because all the third and fourth class German theatres which produced his *Mrs. Warren's Profession,* etc., etc., are now closed. The war has closed, for the time being, what must have been a good market for Mr. Shaw's wares. Is this why some of his sympathies are on the other side of the North Sea? Are sympathy and self-interest identical? Still, there is some consolation for Mr. Shaw in the fact that German newspapers are now calling him the " Upright Man." Germans have admired our Social Democratic playwright for a long time.

The writer has heard more than one German state that England had produced only three writers since the year 1800, and those are Lord Byron, Oscar Wilde and G. B. Shaw. In any case, the three

names, if properly arranged, form *ein schönes Kleeblatt* (a pretty Shamrock-leaf).

For more than a decade Oscar Wilde and Mr. Shaw have had the honour of having their works produced in German third and fourth-class theatres more often than any other English dramatists. Theatres like the Intimes Theater, in Nuremberg — a dirty little theatre in a dirty little street, where dirty little plays are produced for the delectation of German lieutenants in mufti out for the evening with a *Verhältnis*.

But there is every reason to believe that the Fatherland's shady theatres will reopen after the war, therefore if Mr. Shaw has any loss it can only be temporary, and personal loss is no reason either for pro-German sympathies or anti-English sentiments.

Returning to the question of the German army and nation, it is satisfactory to note that some Englishmen know and understand them better than the Germans themselves. The Englishmen in question say — you must separate the German army from the German people, love the one and hate the other. Germans do not admit this divisibility; Teutons maintain that the army and people are one and the same thing.

It may be advisable to hear a few Germans in order to settle the point. Professor Delbrück, writing in "Das preussische Jahrbuch," 1912, p. 169: "To-

day the army is the people and the people the army."

Count Loringboren, Commander of the 22nd Division in the Prussian Army, in his book, "The Fundamentals of Military Success" (Berlin, 1914), writes: "A modern war must be popular. When everybody, down to the last man in the nation, is convinced that the honour and existence of the Fatherland are at stake, then an army, *which is the nation in arms,* will perform wonders."

Herr von Bülow, at that time Imperial Chancellor, addressing the Reichstag in 1901, said: "In no country in the world are the army and people so closely united as in Germany. When we say the army is the German nation in arms, that is not an empty phrase, but the simple truth. Therefore it follows of a necessity that he who insults the German army insults the German people."

A whole literature, including many popular illustrated works, has been published in Germany under the title "Das Volk in Waffen" ("The Nation in Arms"). All Germans would be amused at any attempt to separate them, and still the gentlemen already named, and correspondents in the *Christian World,* have been endeavouring for months past to convince England that the German army and people are not one and the same. Having danced to German *Bauernfängerei* music before the war, they are even now not content with having been duped and in

having duped others; new phrases are quickly invented to cover their shame, and they begin to scream "war against war," the "destruction of Prussianism," yet there is no evidence that they have informed themselves in the meantime as to the nature of Prussianism. Before the war they led by ignorance, and they are proceeding again to find dupes for the second phase of their ignorance.

This should be sufficient answer to the sentimentalists who would see the German people loved. The crime of this aggressive war does not lie at the Kaiser's door, but the German nation individually and collectively are guilty of the bloodshed in battle and the murders and rapes in the towns and villages of Belgium, Poland and Northern France.

Freedom of speech is a priceless jewel of which Englishmen are justly proud, but it can be abused, and it has never been more abused than during the last dozen years by those Englishmen who have talked about a great country (Germany) without having troubled to study the elements of the question on which they talked so glibly. The result of their ignorance, charlatanism and open abuse of their right to free speech is this: Many thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of Englishmen must sleep their last sleep on the blood-stained battlefields of Europe. As usual, the charlatans remain in security and invent new wiles, while the victims of their ante-war *Bauernfängerei* are being shot and bayonet-

ted to make good the evil caused by a fatal combination of ignorance and freedom of speech.

There is one other item of *Bauernfängerei* to discuss, and that is the unity of the German people in this world struggle. This has been achieved by the Prince of *Bauernfänger* — the German Kaiser.

In the quotation from the work of a German general given above, the principle is laid down that the nation must be convinced to the last man of the justice of their cause. That condition is fulfilled in the case of the German nation to-day; they are united and enthusiastic in support of the war.

For years the Kaiser has astutely cultivated the reputation for being a religious and peace-loving monarch. The German nation believed that to be his true character — it was merely *Bauernfängerei.* In consequence the nation was predisposed to believe that the Kaiser would never begin a war, therefore the Germans believed him when he said that he did not want war and that Germany was not the aggressor. From the window of the imperial palace he told his people to go to church and pray (July 31st, 1914). Since that date the Deity has been invoked on numerous occasions and the German people again and again assured that God is on their side. Rather than discuss this point the writer prefers to leave it for the Kaiser to settle with the Almighty himself; religion is a matter for the individual conscience.

It is, however, noteworthy that the German people accept their monarch's assurances. The Kaiser has convinced them that their hearths and homes are in the greatest danger, but he conceals the fact that he himself endangered them. They believe his version and are prepared to defend them. He has told his people that England engineered this war in order to annihilate Germany; but the Kaiser is again guilty of *suppressio veri,* for he neglects to inform his subjects that England offered Germany friendship [4] and that the present Government possibly exceeded the limits of common sense in its humane endeavours to guarantee the world's peace. His subjects believe him implicitly and are united in an unjust cause, which is the supreme triumph of *Bauernfängerei.*

To-day the aggressors believe they are the attacked, the brutal believe themselves to be the standard-bearers of the highest culture, the war-worshippers are convinced that they are lambs unjustly torn by the dogs of war, and, lastly, the materialistic pagan nation adores itself as the instrument of God! Nothing other than the magnetic personality of Kaiser Wilhelm II could have achieved this masterpiece of hypnotism.

Those who employ doubtful means in pursuance

[4] Dr. Paul Michaelis, in his work, "Von Bismarck bis Bethmann" (Berlin, 1911), writes, on p. 129: "Thereby we may not overlook the fact that the English Government has repeatedly stretched out the hand of friendship to us in order to arrive at an agreement."

of more doubtful ends, often accuse the other side with using the same methods; hence it is not surprising to find English offers of friendship called *Bauernfängerei* by Germans. Mr. Churchill's attempts to conciliate Germany on the naval question were considered " sharp practice " in the Fatherland. In the April number of " Das preussische Jahrbuch," 1912, it is openly conceded that Germans looked upon Mr. Churchill's efforts as *Bauernfängerei.*

The present writer believes that the whole of the English cabinet desired peace and did everything which was humanly possible to avoid a conflict, but he never met a German, high or low, who shared his opinion. In England (as well as in other countries) the German State has " inspired " the opinion that Germans loved peace and desired nothing else. The same State has told its own subjects that England wanted war and was using the most fiendish methods to bring about war. In England the German State preached peace and found dupes to echo the dulcet notes of the Lorelei; within her own territories she taught that war is salvation, and she prepared for war down to the letter Z in the military alphabet.

The semi-official announcement made in the *Cologne Gazette* for August 1st, 1914, that Germany had no idea of violating Belgian neutrality was also a confidence trick, but that example pales into insignificance when compared with the one attempted in Berlin on the British Ambassador and by Prince

Lichnowski in London.[5] England was assured that if she remained neutral and France was overthrown, then Germany would only demand territory outside Europe, *i.e.*, French colonies. Supposing that England had pursued that course, and supposing that Germany had conquered France without marching through Belgium, then how could England have prevented Germany from annexing French provinces or Belgium and Holland? This was undoubtedly Germany's hope, and because England intervened Germany knew that her immediate hope of making herself paramount in Europe was frustrated. The *Bauernfängerei* of annexing only French colonies failed. Germany intended to annex French provinces, including Burgundy.

The author of the secret report to the Kaiser, given in full in the "French Yellow Book," expressly states that after France is overthrown "We shall then remember that the provinces of the old German Empire, the county of Burgundy and a large portion of Lorraine are still in the hands of the Franks, that thousands of our German brothers of the Baltic provinces groan under the yoke of the Slav. It is a national matter to give back to Germany what she formerly possessed."

[5] When Prince Lichnowski was appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Germans laughed at the Kaiser's ruse in sending a man to London who had English sympathies. It was considered a good trick to keep the English quiet till German preparations were more advanced.

The programme is not new. On two occasions when speaking in the Reichstag Prince Bismarck said the next war with France would be *saigner à blanc* [6] (till the blood runs white). France was to be smashed for ever and her fairest provinces joined to the German Empire. On July 25th, 1914, the writer spent the evening with some half-dozen professors from Erlangen University. Among them was Dr. Beckmann, professor of history. This was the evening on which the Austrian ultimatum expired and considerable excitement prevailed. Professor Beckmann expressed the opinion that the ultimatum had been worded in such a manner as to make war inevitable. Germany wanted war, the time had at last arrived for *saigner à blanc.* He was perfectly correct in his supposition. The subject of the next war with France had often been discussed in our weekly meetings, and the opinion was unanimous that Burgundy and Lorraine would be taken from France, but the methods would be different from those used in 1870. "We shall drive out every French subject and fill the conquered provinces with German settlers. Then we shall not have a difficult population to govern, as is the case in the provinces annexed by Bismarck in 1870."

[6] This Bismarckian piece of bullying is quoted in "Das preussische Jahrbuch," 1897, page 475, as an argument in favour of building a great German fleet. Every educated German knows the phrase, and all have looked forward to the *saigner-à-blanc* war with France.

The writer has heard the same views expressed among all classes of Germans, including army officers. Fortunately the confidence trick was played without success against Sir Edward Goschen and the London Cabinet.

Germany has tried her *Bauernfängerei* on the other side of the Atlantic. It commenced when Prince Henry — the Kaiser's brother — visited the United States a few years ago. The customary effusive, superficial politeness has been lavished upon distinguished Americans when visiting Berlin. Americans were welcome in Germany because they spent money freely — German Michael loves money.

The writer doubts, however, that Americans were more sincerely respected than the English; press comments and conversations with the man in the street support the opposite theory. A Munich humorist dubbed the Americans *der zahlende Mob* (the paying mob), and this coarse witticism was copied from a Munich comic paper into half the papers in the Fatherland. The writer has heard it quoted with gusto on many occasions; it has, in fact, become the popular name for Uncle Sam, like *Stock-Engländer* (stupid, obstinate Englishman) is the everyday phrase for the sons of Albion.

With the commencement of the war, however, Herr Dernburg & Co. began another *Bauernfängerei* campaign in the United States which may be safely left to the judgment of American common sense.

CHAPTER XIV

THE KAISER OF KULTUR

THE author takes up this part of his task with a certain amount of diffidence. It is not easy to learn anything which is new concerning Germany's "very Highest War Lord" (*Allerhöchster Kriegsherr*); if the Kaiser is mentioned in public all eyes are at once turned upon the speaker and Germans assume a waiting, listening attitude. The Emperor may say what he likes — sense or nonsense — and the law protects both his person and his utterances from any drastic form of criticism. At the same time the law makes it impossible for citizens, high or low, to say what they think, when it is not of a flattering nature, concerning His Majesty.

The writer is compelled for the most part to let the Kaiser speak for himself or to quote opinions from the works of influential Teutons. Only one episode of an intimate character came to the writer's ears.

After returning from a visit to this country the Emperor was out shooting in East Prussia. One of the gentlemen in attendance accidentally dropped a small English flag which he had brought back from England. The Kaiser observed it and stamped on

it in blind rage, with the remark: "Eines Tages werde ich wirklich auf diese verfluchte Flagge treten" ("One day I shall really stamp on this accursed flag"). The writer cannot vouch for the truth of the story, but he can conscientiously assert that it had currency in select circles and was believed to reflect the Emperor's true sentiments towards his mother's home.

His ostentatious protestations of friendship were considered in all circles to be a diplomatic pose (*Bauernfängerei*), and as such were tolerated. But if the pose took on an air of too much sincerity, there was immediately a national outcry. History itself proves that the Kaiser hates England.

There can be no doubt, however, concerning his popularity in Prussia. In the home of reaction he is no longer a mere man, but an Apollo — a god, sent by the great God. No observer could deny that His Majesty is an exceedingly clever man, versatile and charming. He is the incarnation of the national character, and possesses in a marked degree the traits of a dazzling, fascinating, superficial personality. In all exteriors he is perfection; Germans live for exteriors, and the imperial exteriors have captivated the popular imagination.

The centre of the Kaiser's universe is the Kaiser himself, and his romantic, ardent nature has led him to imagine himself to be *the* centre of *the* universe. If this were not the case, then many of his utter-

ances become mystic and obscure in the extreme.

As mentioned above, it is impossible to know anything of his private movements or convictions. We can only portray him as he presents himself to the public eye, or allows himself to be presented — on most occasions that is with sword and helm, or as he expressed it himself "*in schimmernden Wehr*" ("in shining armour"). We can only guess at the inner man by picturing his relation and attitude to the great questions and realities of life.

To the Emperor the greatest reality is his high office, and that he is the right man in the right place he has not a shadow of a doubt.

In a speech delivered in Königsberg, he informed his hearers: "Here my grandfather set the crown of Prussia upon his head, thereby emphasizing once more that it was given him by God's grace alone — and not by Parliaments, National Assemblies, or National Committees. Thus he made known to the world that he considered himself an instrument chosen by heaven, and as such performed the functions of a king and monarch. Adorned with this crown he went into the field and added to it the Kaiser's crown."

The Emperor gives his unquestioning allegiance to the doctrine of divine right, and he has made many efforts to convince his subjects of the sacredness of his person and the divine origin of his mission.

"It is a tradition of our house to consider ourselves as enthroned by God," he exclaimed on another occasion. In the same year (1890) he wrote in the "Golden Book of Munich": "Suprema lex regis voluntas." In the "Imperial Golden Book" he wrote on November 19th, 1899: "The king is of God's grace, therefore he is only responsible to the Lord. He may only choose his path and duties from this point of view. That is kingship by divine right. No mere man, no Minister, no Parliament, no people can free him from his never-ceasing, everlasting cares and duties, and their awful responsibility to the Creator alone."

The Kaiser seems keenly alive to the duties of his high office, for he often talks of them. "I shall go my way, which is devoted to the well-being and peaceful development of our Fatherland. Considering myself as God's instrument, I shall pay no attention to the views and opinions of the day."—Königsberg, August 25th, 1910.

"I look upon my country as a talent entrusted to me by God, which it is my duty to increase. I intend to husband my talent like the good husbandman, hence I hope to add a few more to it. Those who will help me in this work are heartily welcome — whoever they be; those who oppose me I will smash." — Banquet of the Brandenburg Provincial Diet, March 5th, 1890.

The latter speech is of great interest at a moment

when the Kaiser has added Luxembourg, Belgium and a part of Poland to his country. Three talents added — temporarily! Further, he has kept his royal word and smashed Belgium, which opposed the "adding" process.

Even a quarter of a century ago, it would seem that the Kaiser's thoughts were directed towards the acquisition of French provinces or colonies — German expansion.

Throughout, the Emperor is consistent in his claim of special relationship to God. This is a question which cannot be discussed. The Kaiser's vociferations that God appointed him are merely a projection of his inner consciousness, and must be the result of either *Grössenwahn* (swelled-head and self-deception); *Bauernfängerei* (the confidence-trick); or sincere conviction. The writer is unable to prove either of these hypotheses, and prefers to leave them as such; yet there is an interesting side which may not be overlooked.

We have in these imperial utterances the Kaiser's estimation of himself, which we are free to accept or reject. That is not true in regard to his own subjects; they must accept the valuation which he places upon himself.

We may classify the Kaiser's claim to divine authority with the claims made by Smythe-Piggot, but Germans must admit it — or at least maintain a discreet silence. It is easy to get inside a German

prison! The Social Democrats have done good, by cautious work, in exposing this arrant nonsense that God has chosen the Hohenzollerns, etc., *ad nauseam*. Such revolting claims only compel "the man in the street" to revise his ideas on the intelligence of a God who could make such a choice.

England has no right to play the rôle of Oliver Cromwell within German territories, but when these ideas are employed to arouse the enthusiasm of millions of "kultured" brute-men and to give divine sanction to the Kaiser's crimes against humanity, then it is high time for the supreme frivolity of divine right of kings to be smashed from the international point of view, just as the Puritans destroyed it within national limits.

A doctrine which was a curse within a nation, becomes a vastly greater curse when it is an inspiring motive for a monarch and his people in international dealings.

The Kaiser has himself laid down the limits of national liberty, which comprise the same freedom accorded to Hottentots in Africa and far less freedom than the United States has granted to coloured subjects. "Freedom of thought, freedom in religion and freedom for scientific research — that is the liberty which I wish for the German people and which I would fight to obtain for them; but not the liberty to govern themselves badly, as they like."— Speech delivered in Görlitz, November 28th, 1902.

It will be observed that the Emperor carefully excludes freedom of speech and political liberty.

The Bavarian peasant grants the swine which he fattens for market the same degree of freedom; the pig in the sty may think as it likes and stir up the mire in "scientific research;" but there its activities end till the time comes for its slaughter. The Kaiser has kept his subjects on a similar level, till the moment for international slaughter arrived.

On more than one occasion he begged those who were not content with his order of things to leave the country which God gave to him alone. "The world belongs to the living, and the living are right. I will not tolerate pessimists or men not suited to work. If they like then can go in search of a better land."— September 9th, 1906.

Such language makes one wonder what would have happened to Messrs. Keir Hardie, Ramsay Macdonald and G. B. Shaw if fate had kindly arranged their birth as German subjects. Would they have grown up into meek, passive German subjects of the Kaiser, with brutal instincts against their fellow-men, like their comrades, the German Social Democrats? Or would they — all three rolled into one — have sufficed to make a German Oliver Cromwell? The writer doubts the latter proposition, because these gentlemen are talkers under conditions where there is no danger to a hair of their heads,

while Oliver Cromwell was a man of action amid the greatest dangers to life and limb.

Although the Kaiser, according to his report, obtained his crown direct from God, he places little confidence, indeed, in the power or the will of the Almighty to maintain his rights to it. The right to govern is of divine origin, but the means and methods to rule are earthly. A divine crown cannot remain suspended in mid-air, therefore the Kaiser lays great weight upon the army as its support.

It was not chance but sagacity which led the German Emperor, on his succession to the throne, to address his two first proclamations to the army and navy; his third pronouncement was to the German people.

In his endeavours to convince the army of the righteousness of his authority, the Kaiser shrinks from nothing. Again and again he reiterates the necessity for a soldier to be pious and repeat his paternosters, but in spite of all that, he must, at the command of his War Lord, attack in blind obedience, and if mother and father, brother and sister are against him, he must murder even them — for the honour of the War Lord.

At Potsdam, November 23rd, 1891, the Kaiser, in addressing young soldiers after taking the oath of fidelity, said:

"You have sworn fidelity to me; that means, children of my Guard, you are now soldiers and have

to submit to me, body and soul. For you there is only one enemy, and that is my enemy. It can happen in consequence of the present socialistic agitation, that I shall command you to shoot down your own relations, brothers — even parents — which, God forbid; but even then you would have to obey my command."

An extract from another effusion in the same year runs: "The soldier and the army have made the German Empire — not parliamentary majorities. My trust is in the army." [1]

Another quotation is from a speech to recruits on November 16th, 1893: "I want Christian soldiers who say the Lord's Prayer. The soldier must not have his will, but you must all have one will, and that is my will. There is only one law, and that is my law."

The Kaiser's relationship to his army, so clearly laid down in these utterances, exposes another of the essential evils which have led up to the present war. An autocrat who claims to be God's chosen instrument has under his supreme command a nation in arms which can probably put ten million men in the field.

This monarch believes that he is subject to one law alone — his own will. He has announced it to be his sacred duty to add several talents to the one (Germany) which God entrusted to him. We will

[1] Not in God, on this occasion.

not discuss the question "Who gave the Kaiser this unlimited power?" We may even grant his claim that God gave it to him, but it concerns humanity very nearly as to how he has employed it. Within his empire he has used it to bolster up medievalism and crass injustice — that is a matter for the German people to settle with him. Further, he has used his might to grab other nations' talents in the present war of aggression.

It is known that Germany was responsible for the ultimatum to Servia; it has been proved that Germany alone prevented Russia and Austria from coming to terms. When the crisis became acute the Kaiser was on a holiday tour in Norway; educated Germans, including officers, freely expressed the opinion that he only went there as a blind — to deepen the impression on his people that he had nothing to do with it.

On July 25th, Dr. Spuler, professor of anatomy at Erlangen University and an officer of the reserve, told the writer that he had received his orders and war was certain. At that moment the ultimatum to Servia had not expired. King Ludwig of Bavaria was to have visited Erlangen on July 27th — the visit was cancelled by telegraph on July 25th.

On Sunday, July 26th, the garrison in Erlangen received twenty-four hours' leave of absence to visit their friends. During the following days reservists

began to pour into the barracks, but in a manner which would escape observation. The men were ordered to present themselves at various hours of the day; literally they came in like stragglers, and after Monday evening of July 27th no one was permitted to leave the barracks. The writer heard this from friends living opposite to the buildings in question, and also through the correspondence of a sergeant in the barracks.

On July 27th at 10 p.m. the writer saw a reserve officer in khaki going to the barracks, and on Thursday morning he met a former Erlangen student (Hans Schlund), a married man living in Coburg. He informed the writer that he belonged to the *Ersatz-Reserve* (substitute reserves, about the fourth line of reserves), and that he had to be in the barracks at 10 a.m. The gentleman in question is over thirty years of age, and the incident is a striking proof that Germany's mobilization was on July 30th in a very advanced stage, otherwise it would have been ridiculous for a man of that class to be joining his regiment. Further, it must not be overlooked that he had travelled a considerable distance, which shows that the order calling him up must have been issued several days before.

Meanwhile the press was full of alarmist reports concerning Russia's mobilization, and on Wednesday, July 29th, two Berlin editors were thrown into prison for reporting the mobilization of the 16th and

17th army corps. It all meant that the Kaiser was after the extra talents.

Mr. Asquith has said that the sword shall not be sheathed till Prussianism is broken. We all hope to see that end attained, but the greatest lesson to be learned from the present struggle is this: The armed forces of Germany must be under popular control in future, not under the control of a divine-right Kaiser. It must never be possible again for a German ruler to declare war and then summon a parliament.

Oliver Cromwell taught his country a great lesson, and it is England's imperative duty to teach that lesson to Germany and as far as possible to other existing autocracies.

The writer does not believe that this will be the last war on earth; but he believes that if armaments are under popular control, wars may be reduced to a minimum.

Another principle which our Statesmen should strive to establish is, that those who provoked the war should be made personally responsible. Criminals are punished to meet the ends of justice and to restrain others with like tendencies. If the German autocracy, including the Kaiser and Crown Prince, receive punishment commensurate with their crimes, that will act as a deterrent to all autocratic rulers for generations, perhaps for ever.

History shows that it is generally the masses which

must endure all the bitter harvest of war; but if this war establishes the principle that monarchs, who unsheathe the sword under the banner of divine right, can and will be called to the bar of humanity, then the bloodshed will not have been in vain.

This is no time for mincing words; the Kaiser and Crown Prince, aided and abetted by the General Staff in Berlin, are guilty of the foulest crime in history, and if they cannot personally be made responsible and punished, then it would have been better for England not to enter the war, to accept dishonour and await her final absorption into the German Empire — as one of the Kaiser's "other talents."

It has been pointed out in another chapter that the Kaiser excludes all clergymen from the political arena, and one more quotation will suffice to illustrate his attitude to religion. Addressing an assembly in the monastery at Beuron in November, 1910, he used these words: "I expect you to support me in my endeavours to preserve religion for the nation. The governments of Christian princes can only be conducted according to the teachings of the Lord. They should help to strengthen the religious feeling which is innate in Germans, and to increase reverence for Church and Throne. Both these belong together and cannot be separated."

The great party of "enlightenment" and freedom (?) aroused the Kaiser's deepest anger. What the Kaiser felt he generally expressed in words, and his

attacks on the Social Democratic party contain some of his bitterest diatribes.

The writer is in agreement with some of the imperial strictures on that party, although he holds they are quite out of place on the lips of a monarch.

To a deputation of colliers in May, 1889, the Emperor said: "Every Socialist, in my opinion, means an enemy to Empire and Fatherland. They are the Fatherlandless enemies of the divine order of things." As a prophet the Kaiser has been singularly unfortunate, for in 1899 he expressed the opinion that Social Democracy is only a passing phenomenon. Each successive election since that year has been a proof of the folly of his prophecy. Over the grave of the late Herr Krupp he charged the Socialist party with Krupp's murder.[2]

Another deputation of workmen was received by the Kaiser at Breslau on December 12th, 1902, and listened to the following oration:

"For years you and your German brothers have allowed yourselves to be held by the agitators of the Socialists in the mad belief that if you do not belong to their party, you are not respected, and are not in a position to obtain a hearing for your just demands towards the bettering of your condition. That is a

[2] The Social Democratic press charged Herr Krupp with unnatural offences against morality. Officially it was announced that the "libels" had hastened his death. Report said that he had committed suicide so that his mode of life in his Italian villa should not be exposed in a court of law.

vile lie and an error. Instead of representing you in a disinterested way, these agitators have only stirred up strife against your employers, against the other social classes and against the Throne and Altar. At the same time they have exploited you in a most unscrupulous manner, terrorized and enslaved you in order to increase their power. You can have nothing more to do with such men or allow yourselves to be led by them. Send simple comrades out of your own midst into parliament and they will be welcome."

The Kaiser's methods when dealing with the Prussian nobility are of a very different kind. His policy has been to treat the army as the first and the Junkers as the second pillar supporting his power. Any differences between himself and the aristocracy have always been settled in the spirit of domestic quarrels.

On one such occasion the Kaiser said that opposition to their king on the part of this powerful class was an absurdity. He appealed to them *not* to fly to arms in political opposition, but to approach him in confidence. "My door is always open to every one of my subjects, and I gladly listen to them. For the future let that be your way, and everything which has happened previous to this I consider as blotted out of remembrance." It is indeed another tone to the one employed in dealing with his opponents.

But to Englishmen the most interesting side of the Emperor's must be his attitude to the naval question,

for to us that is a matter of existence. The entire movement of naval expansion was begun and engineered by Kaiser Wilhelm, and whether the German fleet brings fortune or misfortune to the German people, they have to thank their Kaiser. It was he who converted first the Junkers and then the Social Democrats to his plans. His insatiable vanity and misguided ambition have been the prime forces which have brought about a conflict with England. "It is no exaggeration to assert that Kaiser Wilhelm II. had already taken a firm resolution when he ascended the throne to create for the German Empire a great fleet." [3] This is no empty compliment paid by an imperial satellite, but weighty words from the pen of an able naval and political writer.

When the Kaiser succeeded to the crown Count Caprivi, a layman, was at the head of the German Admiralty. The new Emperor's first step was to remove Caprivi and replace him by a naval officer, Vice-Admiral Count Monts. His predecessor's policy had been aimed at defending Germany's coasts. The new minister immediately broke with this tradition. His first step, under orders from the Kaiser, was to present a bill to the Reichstag demanding four high-seas battleships; therewith Caprivi's coast-defence idea was definitely and finally abandoned and the first step taken towards building Germany's fleet.

[3] "Deutschland's Auswärtige Politik" ("Germany's Foreign Policy"), 1888–1913, by Count Reventlow, p. 57.

On July 14th, 1888, the Kaiser reviewed the fleet at Kiel, and for the first time in history a German Emperor and Prussian King appeared there in admiral's uniform.

As Count Reventlow remarks, there were various hindrances which prevented the immediate realization of the imperial schemes. Among others, there were the conditions in the Reichstag, the large number of parties and their irreconcilability; in the nation there was no knowledge or understanding for the naval question; and lastly the clumsy representation in the parliament by the Kaiser's ministers. Against all these the Emperor battled with vigour and persistency. But the year of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee brought a crisis.

Prince Henry, the Kaiser's brother, was sent to represent Germany at the festivities in London. The ship which was to bring the Prince to the English coast was, in the Kaiser's opinion, unworthy of the occasion and of Germany. On April 4th, 1897, the Kaiser telegraphed to his royal brother. "I regret exceedingly that I cannot put a better ship at your disposal for this celebration, especially when all other countries are represented by their finest warships. It is a sad consequence of the manœuvres of those unpatriotic persons who have prevented the construction of even the most necessary ships of war. But I shall know no rest, till I have placed our navy on a par for strength with our army."

This clever thrust at his enemies was followed up in the same year by two steps of far greater importance. Firstly the Kaiser had charts and statistics prepared comparing the fleets of the world, and had them sent to all the larger German towns. Secondly Admiral von Tirpitz was appointed to the Admiralty on June 15th, 1897, and a new era began. The new minister's policy is expressed in the word *Risikogedanke,* of which the alleged underlying principle is: Germany's fleet should be so strong that no other power, not even the greatest, would dare to attack her without running the gravest risks.

It is only another Teutonic confidence trick, a diplomatic way of expressing her ambition for naval supremacy. If the German fleet is to be strong enough to threaten " grave risk " to England, then it must be nearly on an equality, and from that stage it is easy to proceed to one of equality, and finally to superiority.

Von Tirpitz's phrase " risk policy " was merely an official diplomatic term to lull suspicions in England, for Germany could not use a term defining naval projects beyond that limit. Any more expressive term would have been of a necessity an open threat to England, of which Germans knew quite well the consequences. But what von Tirpitz omitted to say in his diplomatic fiction (a fiction meant to smooth over German opponents to naval expansion, as well as to blind the English) other Germans said for him.

The German Navy League, the Pan-German agitators, a large section of the German press, and even the "man in the street," said quite openly: "We are prepared to make any sacrifices to obtain naval supremacy; for without that our commerce is at England's mercy, a disgraceful and humiliating prospect for a nation in every way superior to England."

Reventlow [4] writes in these words in regard to England: "The Kaiser's wish and determination to provide the German Empire with a great fleet is based upon an eminent political idea. He (the Kaiser) thought that till Germany possessed a great fleet, we Germans must endeavour to preserve good relations with England, and to that end it was necessary to make occasional concessions.[5]

"Within certain limits this policy was obvious. The Kaiser himself has given expression to the thoughts which were in his mind and directed his actions. On January 18th, 1896 (25th anniversary of the German Empire), he said: 'A world empire has grown out of the German Empire. It is your solemn duty, gentlemen, to help me to bind this greater Germany to our native land.' The Kaiser's programme is the direct line of development of the German Empire. It had to be drawn up and carried out."

[4] Count Reventlow's "Deutschland's Auswärtige Politik," p. 60.

[5] Germany would try to be friends with England till she had a great fleet. After she had the wished-for fleet, on what terms did Germany intend to live with England?

The Emperor has delivered many speeches during his reign, and he would be more than human if some seeming contradictions did not occur in them. While agitating for a greater fleet in 1901 he remarked: "We have won our place in the sun, although we have not the fleet which we ought to possess."

Generally, the necessity for a great fleet was enforced by the argument that it was necessary in order to procure Germany's place in the sun. In the same speech Germany was provided with the now famous motto: "Our future is on the water."

The echo of world power occurs occasionally in the imperial declamations; thus at Bremen on March 23rd, 1905: "By reason of my experience and knowledge of history, I have sworn never to strive after barren world domination. The world empire which I have imagined, shall consist in this — that above all, the newly-founded German Empire shall enjoy the unbounded confidence of everybody. Germany shall be looked upon as a quiet, honest, peaceful neighbour, so that if a future historian ever speaks of a German World Empire, or a Hohenzollern World Domination, he shall say it was not founded by conquest or the sword, but on mutual confidence between the nations striving after the same goal. Every German battleship which is launched is another guarantee for peace on earth, and our opponents will be all the less inclined to attack us, and we, all the more desirable as allies."

It is to be regretted that the deeds to emphasize these eloquent words are remarkable by their absence from the Kaiser's life. Their place has been taken by sabre-rattling and a bullying attitude to Germany's neighbours. He who wished to found a world empire on confidence should have shown confidence, but instead of placing trust in her neighbours, Germany has consistently preached the doctrine — trust only your own arm of might.

In order to offer conclusive proof that the Kaiser is the father of the German fleet and that his people look up to him as such, three more quotations from German sources will be given:

"It will live in history how untiringly he has laboured for the German fleet. The Kaiser first recognized the dawn of *Weltpolitik,* and drew the right conclusions for Germany. Innumerable are the speeches in which he has brought to the minds of his people: the growth of our nation, greater Germany; our future on the water, and the necessity of a great fleet. His labours have not been in vain." [6]

"After the Empire had been founded, it was the present Kaiser who, with systematic endeavours and incessant energy, led the policy of the German Empire into new and splendid paths." [7]

[6] "Yearbook of Germany's Maritime Interests," by Nauticus, p. 134. Berlin, 1902.

[7] "Politik und Seekrieg" ("Politics and Naval Warfare"), by Rudolf von Labrés, p. 32.

In 1913 the German Emperor completed the twenty-fifth year of his reign. To celebrate the event an imposing work[8] was published as a record of the Kaiser's work in building up the fleet. The authors are G. Wislicenus, a high official in the Admiralty, and Professor Stöwer, who supplied the introduction and illustrations. Stöwer is a marine painter, a close friend of the Kaiser's, whom he has accompanied on his annual journeys since 1904. Many of his paintings are in the Emperor's possession, and many are owned by the Admiralty. In his introduction he writes: "Looking far ahead, he created in this period the mighty, aspiring, respect-compelling German fleet, as his very own (*ureigen*) immortal work, and every German must thank the Kaiser that he has made the Fatherland a great naval power."

It would be interesting to know the innermost thoughts of Germany's other reigning princes on the position which the German Emperor occupies in the Empire. He has taken unto himself the right to speak for all Germans, and in his imperial orations there is never any mention of his royal peers. In genuine German fashion it has been the Kaiser's aim to oust all other princes from the German political stage.

Before the war he was not popular in either Ba-

[8] "Kaiser Wilhelm und die Marine," 1913, by Stower and Wislicenus.

varia, Württemburg or Saxony. The subjects of the various monarchs of these States wondered where their kings came in, when the Kaiser vociferated his claims to special appointment by God. More than once the writer has heard Germans in the three kingdoms named, fluently and forcibly condemn the Kaiser's assumption that he is the only monarch in Germany who has the right to speak for Germany. But it was noticeable that they never spoke against the German Empire. All the States comprising the Empire hold together as a matter of self-interest.

The average Prussian's attitude to the other partners in the Confederation is one of tolerance and condescension. His head is so full of *unser Kaiser* that he is mildly surprised when the King of Bavaria is mentioned. From his lofty eminence he looks down upon *der dumme Bayer* (the stupid Bavarian); even a Prussian workman considers a Bavarian peasant or factory-hand a being essentially inferior to himself, and all the "brotherhood" doctrines of Social Democracy have failed to remove these mutual prejudices. It would, however, be an error to attach any political importance to them; they are local hatreds. But the Kaiser has aroused gall and bitterness on more than one occasion by his interferences in purely Bavarian affairs.

In 1902 the Bavarian Diet refused a vote for art purposes, whereon the Kaiser expressed himself as

follows in a telegram to the Prince Regent: "I have just returned from my journey, and read with the greatest indignation that the vote for purposes of art has been thrown out. I hasten to give expression to my anger at the impudent thanklessness which this action shows both to the House of Wittelsbach and to your sublime person. You have always shone in an exemplary manner in all things concerning the promotion of art. At the same time I beg to offer the necessary sum out of my privy purse. — WILHELM."

A rich Bavarian nobleman paid the required sum and the Kaiser's offer was politely declined — to the joy of South Germany. But the fact remains that for imperial purposes all other kings and princes in the German Empire, are merely appendages of Prussia.

In Treitschke's obituary notice written by Paul Bailleu, Keeper of the State Archives, in the German Review[9] this paragraph occurs: "It was Hegel who solved the problem of the centuries and destroyed the antithesis between freedom and necessity in the State, in that he taught: the will which obeys the law only obeys itself, and that the law is nothing other than freedom determining itself."

Fichte expressed a similar thought, which Treitschke quotes to support his theory of State-craft:[10]

[9] "Deutsche Rundschau," October, 1896.
[10] "Die Politik," I., p. 32.

"The individual sees in his Fatherland the realization of his earthly immortality."

When treating of Treitschke's State the writer pointed out that the actual German State consists of a coterie of individuals including the Kaiser. It is even permissible to consider the Kaiser as the State. From this point of view according to Hegel he is the sum-total of modern Germany. In any case he reflects and reproduces in himself the characteristics of the whole nation.

There is nothing typical in an average German which we do not find projected on a larger scale in the Kaiser — except perhaps the moustache. But he represents in a remarkable degree German vanity and love of self-glorification. He is a past-master in the art of making people believe what he wishes them to believe, and is a slave to the exteriors just as his subjects. He dispenses blandishments, honeyed words, compliments and flattery, but always with an *arrière pensée*. Kaiser friendship is synonymous with expediency and insincerity. He has shouted the medieval nonsense concerning divine right till he is probably a victim of self-deception; and the bombastic arrogance of his pronouncements on Germany show him to be an adherent of Treitschke's doctrine, that the State must have a sufficiency of self-conceit.

The Kaiser's reign has been marked by tremendous material prosperity, and he is credited with being its good genius. The fruits of German prosperity he

has consistently invested in armaments, and pursuing that path, he has thwarted every attempt, both within and without his territories, to bring about a higher and nobler mode of settlement for international conflicts than an appeal to the sword.

From the earliest years of his reign he has been possessed with the mania to increase his one talent by several more, which was no doubt the prime motive for his ever-increasing armaments. He provoked the present war, and has played the rôle of Pecksniff ever since by deploring the attack of "brutes and barbarians on German *Kultur*." If he had desired peace his course of government would have been quite other than it has been, and if he had been ruthlessly attacked by the Triple Entente, there was even then no justification for the subjugation and devastation of Belgium.

When history delivers her judgment on this last crime, the writer believes that her verdict will show that Belgian cities were not destroyed from motives of brutality alone, but as a matter of policy, so that German cities and *Kultur* should spring up in their places.

There are still individuals in this country who believe the Kaiser to be an "English gentleman" in character, who is the victim of a brutal military party. Unfortunately the writer does not share that opinion; on the other hand, he is compelled to regard the German Emperor as the incarnation of German na-

tional duplicity; the sum-total of Germanic brutal self-assertion, self-love and indifference to others, together with the many other superficial qualities which help to make the intellectual veneer known to the world as German character.

CHAPTER XV

NAVAL CRESCENDO

IN maritime affairs Germany probably has justified grievances against this country; they lie back so far, however, that they cannot be counted among the causes which have led up to the present war. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, German merchants from the ancient Hanse cities had a great part of English inland trade and overseas commerce in their hands. English kings granted them rights and privileges enabling them to establish a depot in London — the old Steelyard — from which they journeyed throughout the length and breath of the land.

In those days their agents travelled to all English fairs and markets. Queen Elizabeth dealt their flourishing undertakings a mortal blow by suppressing these privileges, and Oliver Cromwell's "Navigation Act" completed the ruin of their English trade.

A grievance against England which is often mentioned by German naval writers is an incident which occurred in 1848. It would seem that Lord Palmerston ordered any ships bearing the German imperial flag (black — white — red) to be sunk as

pirates. The writer has not yet discovered any account of this in English sources, and can give no authentic reason for Lord Palmerston's action. He presumes, however, that the English Prime Minister refused to recognize the flag of a non-existent country. If any abuses had been committed under the imperial German banner, it is difficult to see which government could have been called to account for them.

When the various German States united in 1871 to found the German Empire, then the seas were free to ships bearing the flag of that Empire. It is comprehensible that Germans who desired to attain national unity would have liked to see the symbol of their union waving on German ships, but previous to 1871 it would have been an anachronism and an international absurdity. It is interesting to note that this insignificant event has been exploited to illustrate British bullying. Otherwise the agitators have been compelled to draw imaginary pictures of British envy and hate in order to make out their case.

It was not till the nineteenth century, when some degree of internal stability had been obtained in the various German States, that Teutonic ambitions were again aroused and Teutonic eyes turned seaward. These aspirations in themselves are perfectly legitimate so long as they aim at Germany's necessary defence, and are intended to be a means for furthering her well-being and developing her peculiar interests, without prejudice to the established rights of

her neighbours. We shall see, however, that this equitable ideal has given place to intolerant, inconsiderate plans of self-aggrandizement. The free atmosphere of the waves, instead of bringing strength, courage and respect for others, including their rights and aims, has only fanned the devouring fires of ambition for world power.

In 1841 a festival poem was published to celebrate the annual congress of the Hanseatic League (*Hansabund*).

During the intervening seventy-four years German writers have advanced hardly any sentiment in support of their advocacy of a great German fleet which is not expressed by the anonymous poetaster of 1841. The title of the poem is "The German Fleet; an Admonition to the German People," and its author asserts that Germany is to rule the world. In fourteen seven-line verses he appeals to the nation to grasp the trident and with it the rudder of the world's history. When German unity has been attained and one Kaiser rules over all the German peoples then Germany shall dominate the world. England's ship is rotten, and too long she has weighed up the destinies of Europe in her "pedlar's balance." Germany is the Shepherd of the nations and shall be the Regenerator of the world. One passage suggests Kaiser Wilhelm's famous saying. It runs:

> "And in the furrows which Columbus made
> Germany's future will be found."

At this date it is impossible to determine the amount of influence which the poet exercised upon his contemporaries. Seven years later a booklet appeared with proposals of a much more practical nature. It bears the following title:

"Memorandum concerning the building of a German fleet."

Submitted to the Marine Congress in Hamburg by the Kiel Committee. May, 1848.

Modern Germany's fleet dates its rise from that year. In the author's introduction they state their purpose in these words:

"(1) To prove that it is necessary for Germany's future as well as her present, that a German fleet should spring up around Germany's coasts, whether the profit gained is equivalent to the cost and efforts or not.

"(2) To lay down the principles which we have to follow in founding a fleet.

"(3) To propose a general plan and work out the details of the same."

It would be superfluous to enter into the details of the modest proposals made by the Kiel Committee, except to mention that the *raison d'être* most emphasized is the necessity for coast protection as well as a weapon for attack. "The Danish victories were obtained only because we had no sufficient forces

on the water," is the reference made to the Schleswig-Holstein question.

Another striking point is the plea for a German fleet, maintained at the cost of all the German States, as a symbol of their national unity. Their land armies cannot be welded into a homogeneous whole, because of the existing political frontiers, but on the waves German ships could and should fly one common flag showing that Germans are one at heart. Hence Lord Palmerston's interference!

In Prussia both privately and officially the agitation prospered. Moneys from both of these sources made a beginning possible, but the small fleet of frigates, etc., which came into being was essentially Prussian. In the meantime a society had been founded whose propaganda was directed towards the attainment of German unity.

This society (*der Nationalverein*) saw itself compelled in 1861 to protest against the Prussianization of the young fleet. A work [1] appeared during that year declaring the fleet to be a Prussian dream and a German necessity. The immediate cause of this protest was the circulation of subscription lists by Prussia in the various States to obtain funds to enlarge the fleet.

The author, in the name of the National Society, condemned this mode of obtaining the necessary

[1] "Die deutsche Flotte, ein Traum Preussens und eine Forderung Deutschlands." Leipzig, 1861.

money, which would only serve Prussian aggrandizement; he reiterated the reasons proving Germany's need of warships, pleaded for universal State, in preference to private financial aid, and insisted upon the movement becoming a national German undertaking.

Until after the Franco-German War little of importance happened; in the eighties an agitation began which gave Treitschke an opportunity to pour out the vials of his hatred for this country.

The Reichstag granted some insignificant sums, but the movement hung fire till the present Emperor ascended the throne in 1888. His connection with the German fleet has been dealt with at considerable length in the preceding chapter. Therefore we may proceed to the year 1891, when another anonymous work appeared [2] entitled "Our Navy in the Eleventh Hour."

The author of that work gives an interesting account of Germany's maritime interests, a history of the fleet up to that year, and a detailed description of the sailor's life. In conclusion he adds that his purpose has been "to call attention to the navy, to make his readers acquainted with sea life, the development and progress of our navy up to the present day, to describe its organization and naval warfare, and lastly to arouse the nation's true and serious interest in the fleet."

[2] "Unsere Marine in der Elften Stunde," 1891.

The writer of the work fulfilled his task efficiently, and relates in his pages a story of Frederick the Great which is worthy of repetition. Frederick's ambassador in London found himself unable to represent his royal master in a style corresponding to his greatness. He made a personal appeal to the Prussian king, complaining that the English aristocracy made fun of his shabby coat, and enforced the lesson that more splendour was necessary as a background for his diplomatic duties in the English capital. The Embassy funds did not allow him to keep a carriage. "Well, walk, then," answered His Majesty, "and if anybody makes fun of you, tell them there are two hundred thousand Prussian soldiers behind you." "Yes," replied the Ambassador, "that hint would do very well in Paris; but seeing that England is an island, I must be able to add that the two hundred thousand can swim!"

In order not to lose sight of any factor in the growth of the German fleet it is necessary to return to the previous year (1890), for that year was marked by an event which made Germany's naval expansion possible, viz., the acquisition of Heligoland. Germans had cast their eyes longingly upon this now famous island for many years before. Treitschke had written of it in 1875, and Kaiser Wilhelm is credited by authoritative German writers with having had the fixed determination to gain possession whatever the cost might be.

During the writer's earlier years (1902–1907) in the Fatherland he heard many bitter denunciations of England's greed in obtaining a huge slice of Africa in exchange for a "useless" rocky islet. In recent years, as the little island has been transformed into an impregnable (?) fortress, German opinion has changed in proportion as the Kaiser's astuteness has dawned upon their massive intellects.

The completion of the deal (which met with considerable hostility in the House of Commons) is now ascribed to English stupidity and lack of foresight in regard to the military and naval possibilities of Heligoland.

The writer has often pointed out to German acquaintances that the cession of the island was one of the many proofs of good will which the English Government has shown towards Germany, indeed striking evidence that England had no desire to occupy land from which she could bully Germany and dominate German maritime interests. In short, a practical proof that England had no objection to Germany's just naval expansion. Needless to add, such arguments were laughed to scorn; England never has been and never will be magnanimous.

The writer has had no opportunity to examine the inner motives of English Statesmen in the year 1890, but as he has observed many similar attempts made by English ministers from 1900 till 1914, and heard them decried in Germany as "English cunning,"

he prefers to believe that Lord Salisbury knew that he was entrusting a possible weapon against England, when he ceded Heligoland to the German Empire. Whatever his motives were, the simple fact remains that the weapon has been pointed at England's breast alone — a procedure which the writer is forced to describe as peculiarly German.

Furthermore, there is another German characteristic betrayed in the Heligoland incident: it has been employed to arouse and feed the flames of hatred in Teutonic hearts against this country.

While the German Government fortified the island for aggression against England, Statesmen and publicists pointed to Heligoland as an example of Britain's brutal greed.

It is interesting to hear the opinion of a writer whose name is mentioned almost daily in the English Press.[3] In this survey of Germany's foreign policy between 1888 and 1913, Count Reventlow writes on page 42 of his work: "Salisbury had not the genius to recognize the future value of Heligoland." Discussing Lord Salisbury's reasons for his policy, the Count continues: "From the military point of view we can only shake our heads at the *naïveté* of his declaration. We are amazed that the British Admiralty had not thought out the various conceivable military and political possibilities. But the essential

[3] "Deutschland's Auswärtige Politik, 1888–1913," by Count Reventlow. Published in the spring of 1914.

point is that they had not imagined that a real, respect-inspiring German naval power, a high-seas fleet, could come into being within a measurable space of time. What we know to-day, but which nobody had thought of then, except, perhaps, the German Emperor, is that it was absolutely necessary for Germany to possess Heligoland if she ever hoped to become a naval power. But at that time a strong high-seas fleet was an idea cherished only by the Kaiser and a few naval officers. Further, we must not forget that no time was to be lost if Germany wanted Heligoland.

"No British government would have sold the island for any price whatsoever, after it became obvious that the Kaiser's plans for a mighty German fleet were going to be energetically pursued to their logical conclusion. In the same moment that England knew of such resolves, the possibility of acquiring the island for the German Empire would have been lost never to return again. At the same time the future of German sea power would have been nipped in the bud." [4]

The Germans have a proverb to meet such cases; it runs: "Die Schadenfreude ist die reinste Freude" ("Malicious joy is the purest joy;" it could also be rendered, "The joy of destruction is the highest joy"). Since the value of Heligoland as an aggressive weapon against England dawned on the

[4] Count Reventlow's work, pp. 49, 51.

Teutonic imagination, there has been a great deal of " malicious joy " in the Fatherland.

If Lord Salisbury and the Admiralty blundered in 1890, then the blunder must now be made good again, just as Mr. Gladstone's Majuba and Khartoum errors had to be undone. If, on the other hand, English fair-dealing and magnanimous treatment of a possible rival have been shamelessly abused, then the oft-quoted phrase is applicable to the case: Never again!

It has been shown that the year 1897 was an eventful one in the history of the German fleet, but more remains to be mentioned. The German Navy Bill was completed in that year and introduced to the Reichstag. Von Tirpitz was at the head of the Admiralty and a new policy had begun. Until then coast defence had been the aim of Germany's fleet for nearly half a century; that idea was abandoned and a course adopted which led to great possibilities. That year is marked, too, by a rapid increase of naval literature, which would to-day fill a large library.

In this work the author can only give a glimpse of the enormous agitation which moved Germany during the succeeding decade. He can only quote here and there from writers of note and influence. One of these sources is " Das preussische Jahrbuch " (Prussian Year Book), a review of the highest standing. For many years it was edited by Treitschke; he was succeeded by Professor Delbrück, who has edited

it up to the present time. It will be referred to under the letters " P. Y. B."

We can classify this mass of literature under two heads, that for educated readers and the other for the masses. The writer is not in a position to give an adequate account of the latter, because he has none at his disposition. But for years past German booksellers' windows have not been free from sensational works dealing with the " inevitable " war with England.

One well-known book of this type is " Seestern," which gave a bloodthirsty picture of a treacherous attack on Germany by England. The writer has read many such books; they generally concluded by Germany overthrowing England's supremacy on the seas and taking it unto herself.

In 1914 a similar work appeared, and it was a conspicuous feature in the bookshops when war broke out. The cover gave an inkling of its tendency. A glaring picture depicted a naval battle between the English fleet and Zeppelins. English battleships were going under on all sides. A new explosive dropped from the airships was effecting the work of destruction. But the airships were so near that any sailor could have blown them up by means of hand bombs! On reading the book one discovered that the English had made the long-talked-of treacherous attack and destroyed the German fleet, but the airships enabled Germany to take revenge and blot out

the English navy. Crude conceptions! yet they found a ready sale — as a rule the German does not spend much money on books; but a picture of England's downfall never failed to reach his purse. This type of book generally bore the legend "written by a naval officer," a statement which may have been true or merely a mutual trick of the author and his publisher to increase sales. Such books deserve no further notice except that they led the popular imagination in one direction — the desired one!

It is no exaggeration to say that Anglophobia had taken such deep root in the German people, that for years they have longed to cross swords with the Colossus whose feet are of clay. The sources which the writer intends to quote are more restrained; they are all works which command the highest respect of the German public. They are not alarmist authors, but men of responsibility who enjoy reputation in their native land.

As mentioned above the Navy Bill produced the beginnings of an agitation [5] which became a national avalanche. The "P. Y. B." entered the fray decisively in vol. II. pp. 176 to 188 for 1897. Delbrück told his readers that England hated Germany and that Germans would have to reckon with English envy for all time. "No diplomatic courtesy, no

[5] Numerous pamphlets appeared, one of which had a large circulation: "The German Fleet and the German People," by Dr. Rassow, Göttingen. Price, 20 pfg. (2½d.).

political tactics will be able to remove this factor."

In the same volume he deals with the difficulties raised by Bavaria to the new naval schemes and the opposition of various parties in the Reichstag. At that time he was not yet prepared to question England's naval supremacy, for we find him writing on p. 475: "England, whose superiority on the waters is undisputed, *and as far as we can see* will remain so, we can leave out of the count. Sea trade may be called the lung-breathing of a State. So long as it does not cease for long, life-giving blood will still pulsate in the arteries of the organism. But when sea trade stops the functions soon cease."

These are interesting concessions in view of Germany's present declaration that England's blockade can never force Germany to her knees. At that period the statements were made to frighten Michael into paying for a fleet, while the latest claims are intended to keep up his courage.

Another argument adduced in the same article is: "We must have colonies, but we can only obtain possession of them with a strong German fleet, for we shall meet with obstinate resistance on all sides. We shall be threatened, as we were at the time of the Transvaal telegram, by the mobilization of flying squadrons. Yet at the same time it is necessary to have a fleet equal to that of England. To those who are afraid of the apparition *Weltpolitik* (world pol-

icy) inaugurated by the Navy Bill, we may say that it will only enable us to protect our own skins."

Caprivi was Chancellor, and he succeeded in getting the Naval Bill through the Reichstag in March, 1898. But in order to attain his end, it was necessary to win over the Poles; certain concessions were made to them, and they voted for the Bill, and thus it became law. "That great work has not been created by a wave of national enthusiasm, but by clever parliamentary diplomacy." "P. Y. B."

Caprivi was soon replaced by Prince Hohenlohe. Germany had definitely entered upon a career of world policy and stepped on to the "inclined plane" (*schiefe Ebene*) of naval expansion. Within two years the trumpets sounded again, calling for more ships and still more ships.

CHAPTER XVI

"FULL STEAM AHEAD!" [1]

MENTION has already been made of the difficulties with which the German naval expansion party had to contend through popular ignorance of all things maritime. The society which has done most to enlighten Germans, sow seeds of hatred for England, and bring about German schemes for a great fleet, is the *Flottenverein* (Navy League). It was founded in 1898 by forty-four persons. The minimum subscription was fixed at sixpence. At the end of the first year there were 114,345 members, and in 1914 well over three millions. Prince Henry of Prussia (the Kaiser's brother) accepted the Presidency.

The objects of the society were to educate the nation in the naval question and to arouse the people's interest in Germany's young fleet. The organization consists of local lodges (*Ortsgruppen*) linked up in districts, which in their turn are affiliated to provincial and then to the supreme lodge for the country in question, *i.e.*, Bavaria, Prussia, etc. A special badge was designed for members, and received the Kaiser's sanction.

[1] *Voll Dampf voraus!* — one of the mottoes which the Kaiser has coined to spur on the navy agitation in Germany.

The propaganda has been universal; branch societies have been founded in Valparaiso and London. In the Fatherland no channel by which public opinion could be influenced has been overlooked.

The *Flottenverein* has published numerous works on the German navy, including handbooks for those seeking a career in the fighting or the maritime navy. The society has scattered pamphlets and pictures broadcast throughout the land. Its charts hang on school walls and in other public institutions. Every year the local lodges send printed circulars to all residents, inviting them to subscribe or become members. Automatic machines on the railway stations sell patriotic naval postcards showing pictures of battleships and bearing the motto, "Our Future is on the Water."

Lectures have been held in schools, universities, villages and towns by a large staff of lecturers, including many naval officers.

The writer has often attended lectures held for the general public, and heard the most bitter, fiery denunciations of this country — especially after the Morocco crisis and during the Balkan War. There was no suggestion of compromise with England, but the people were told, "We Germans must keep on building ships till we can talk to England in our way!" That sentence expresses exactly what the majority of the German nation has most ardently longed for during the last decade.

The *Flottenverein* publishes an illustrated monthly, *Die Flotte* ("The Fleet"), an organ which serves the purposes of the two affiliated navy leagues, the parent society and the *Flottenverein im Ausland* (Navy League Abroad).

Another part of the educational work is the arrangement of numerous trips every year for teachers, school children and adults to inspect battleships, coast towns, dockyards, Heligoland, etc. These excursions run from the innermost parts of the land and are exceedingly popular.

But the great events in the history of the *Flottenverein* have been the successive naval bills introduced in the Reichstag.

For months previous to the parliamentary debates there has been great activity in preparing the public mind, and the propaganda has only died down when each new programme has passed safely through the imperial parliament. One German, at least, perceived the danger of this agitation and protested against it (Pfarrer Umfrid, Stuttgart, in his "Anti-Treitschke").

The *Flottenverein* has done more than any other agency to poison German opinion against England, to prevent a working arrangement between the two countries on the fleet question coming into existence, and in cultivating the hope that Germany was destined to rule the waves. If a similar agitation had gone on in France to make the French army

equal to that of Germany, the latter would have made it a *casus belli* and commenced a so-called "preventive" war. But Germans were well aware that they had to do with long-suffering England.

Many a German has frankly admitted to the writer, that if Germany had possessed a naval supremacy and the naval question were a matter of existence to her as it is to England, then if England had striven as Germany has done to bring about either equality or superiority, she (England) would have been immediately smashed by a "preventive" war. Prevention is better than cure. This defines Germany's attitude exactly, and yet a section of the British public was quite prepared to see Germany build as many ships as she liked.

In her internal policy Germany is reactionary, her foreign policy is a combination of Anarchism, Nihilism and Social Democracy. She recognizes no "vested interests" when she possesses the power to seize them for herself. The Englishman abhors the idea of bullying, and hates even falsely to be considered a bully. Germany is quite aware of this weakness, and has played cunningly upon this side of English character to gain concessions at the Hague and in the Treaty of London, but it would be hopeless to seek any sign of weakening on Germany's side since she began her naval expansion schemes.

On October 10th, 1899, the Kaiser told his people in a speech delivered in Hamburg: "Bitter Not ist

uns eine starke deutsche Flotte" ("A powerful German fleet is a bitter necessity"). This was one of the opening episodes of a great campaign preparatory to the Navy Bill of 1900. The cry was taken up throughout the length and breadth of the land. University professors, authors, officers, Statesmen, artists, everybody of any importance, was engaged, on the platform and in the press, in the great fight to convert the people. Under Hohenlohe (1898–1900) a certain amount of national enthusiasm had been aroused, but the Junkers had to be won over. One of the *Agrarier* leaders, Dr. Hahn, is reported to have said: "Die grässliche Flotte wieder!" ("This wretched fleet again.")

After the Spanish-American War, the Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, said: "We must not run the danger of suffering the same fate at the hands of England which Spain has met with from the United States."

Special efforts were made to convert the Social Democrats, and Professor Delbrück reports in the "P. Y. B." that one of the remarkable incidents in the campaign was the arrangement of mass meetings for the working classes. Leaders of the revolutionary party debated in public with expert opponents on the new naval programme. Nineteen mass meetings were held in Berlin alone, at one of which Delbrück debated the question with the Social Democratic leader, Herr Singer. The support of the

party was gained, and Delbrück writes in the "P. Y. B." for 1900: "I know for certain that great enthusiasm for the fleet prevails even among the Social Democrats."

The Reichstag passed the 1900 proposals by 201 to 103 votes, whereby Germany's total of battleships was doubled and other increases made in proportion.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Germany never wanted friendship with this country, and every effort towards an *entente* made by England has been met with undisguised contempt or rankling suspicion.

One of the earliest offers was made by the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in a speech delivered at Leicester, November 30th, 1899. Count Reventlow, on p. 145 of his book on German foreign policy, writes: "Chamberlain's proposal of an unwritten alliance between England, Germany and America to guarantee the peace of the world aroused interest but met with a cool reception in Germany, and the country was unanimous in rejecting such an offer. Chamberlain was suspected of hypocrisy." Writing in the "P. Y. B." 1900, p. 188, Professor Delbrück records the fact that Germans look upon England as a colossus with feet of clay, and gloats that the English "are stretching out their arms to us. As to Chamberlain's proposed alliance, public opinion would refuse any such thing." Delbrück goes on

to discuss the approaching disruption of the British Empire and adds: "It would be a misfortune if the British Empire were broken up now, because the German fleet is not yet strong enough to enable us to say our say."

Chamberlain seems to have been cured very soon of his folly in offering friendship to a country which consistently spurned any such proposals, for in a later speech he advised England "to use a long spoon when dining with the devil." It is a cause for deep regret that his country did not follow that advice. Chamberlain went even so far as to defend the British army against the calumnies which Germany had manufactured in her editorial offices, and referred Germans to their conduct in 1870–1.

Reventlow admits (p. 170) that for two years Germans had done nothing but abuse England and pray for her downfall; yet "a storm of hate and rage swept through the country after the Edinburgh speech. When we read the extensive literature of those years, we find on nearly every page the thought, indeed the hope, to be able one day to smash England." Even the Imperial Chancellor spoke on the matter in the Reichstag: "In the whole German nation, in all classes, and in all parties of the same, these charges — which are entirely groundless — aroused the bitterest indignation." The incident illustrates once more the German attitude, that they may slander and lie, yet if the simple truth is spoken

about Germany, then Germania has a severe attack of holy indignation.[2]

In any case, there is ample proof that Germany was contemplating, even then, the naval struggle which she had determined, in her own good time, to provoke with this country; and she was definitely committed to the path pointed out by the official press: "In this world only might counts. Only power commands respect in politics, and so it must be might, might, and still again might."— Fritz Hoenig in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*.

Another instructive source for information on Germany's bid for world power is "Das Jahrbuch für Deutschland's See-Interessen" ("Yearbook of Germany's Maritime Interests"), by Nauticus, Berlin. This work, commenced in 1898, gives a complete record of German naval expansion. The best writers of the day are among its contributors, and in view of the large amount of technical information in it, it must be accepted as an official publication. It reflects the same development as seen in all the literature on the subject; first coast defence, then a high-seas fleet, to make any attacker afraid, and lastly, German world power.

It is also interesting from an international point of view, because it records the effect which Germany's naval expansion has had on the growth of

[2] The author has heard accounts from the lips of German campaigners in the Franco-German War confirming the charges. They admitted the brutality, but pleaded justification.

other fleets. It is a German refutation of the German assertion that she has been driven to build a great fleet by the increase of other fleets. On the contrary, it proves clearly that the advent of the German fleet let loose international suspicion and forced the other naval powers to keep pace. Only England has been able to keep ahead during the short period of naval hustling initiated by Germany in 1900.

Furthermore it must strike the student of Germany's naval literature that up to 1902 comparisons were often made with France, but after that year the Teuton looked upon France as finished with; from that point only England interests him, and he discusses again and again a naval conflict with this country.

Nauticus writes under the heading "World Policy and Naval Power," 1902: "The expansion of Continental policy to world policy must be on the basis of a mighty fleet. In world politics that power takes precedence which possesses the greatest navy."

A year later the same work contains a detailed study of what England could do against Germany in a naval war; there is a sermon on the "jealous rival," and the determination expressed that Germany must continue to tread the path of world policy. Envious England was already trying to allure or frighten her from that path. The answer must be ships and still more battleships.

Yet the German never perceives that every page of his propaganda is soiled with envy for England's powerful position. In 1907, p. 17, Nauticus continues: "Great Britain is more a world power than ever; her foreign policy is only world policy because she can attain everything she desires by her fleet. Whether it will always be so remains to be seen."

After this candid confession that Germany's fleet has another mission than that of defence, it is amusing to read Nauticus's annual explosions of wrath because England took preventive measures. He, too, scorns the idea of friendship with England, and is astonished (1913, p. 4) "that anybody in England can perceive a danger in the German fleet. It is quite incomprehensible, for it has never occurred to us to rival England in naval armaments."

In the October number, 1909, of the "P. Y. B." Delbrück discussed the fleet question in detail. The article is entitled: "Why Germany builds Battleships." He reintroduces France into the discussion, and affirms that Germany's ships are intended to prevent France from cutting off German commerce in the next war. The fleet is not intended either to threaten or crush England. (It is curious that the German people always believed that to be the mission of the German navy.— Author.) Yet the learned professor states that "without German ships the world to-day would be on the way to become English within thirty years. Fortunately the German fleet

makes that hope a mere phantasy. Our fleet is not to get colonies,[3] but only to enable German influence, capital, trade, technics and intelligence to enter into free competition in those lands which are outside European culture."

In the same article it is admitted that if Germany could crush England, then she would obtain world power; the rivalry between the two countries is natural, but it need not lead to war. It will be sufficient for the two powers to hold each other in check by developing their armaments *ad infinitum*. "Thus the possibility of war can take the place of war."

Only a few months previously Delbrück had fumed because "while Europe was occupied England has grabbed three more provinces of Siam. Are her politicians cleverer than ours? No, they are not; but it is on account of her fleet. Bismarck declined to take up world politics and the building of battleships, but we do not intend to be so modest. Although the public is sometimes enraged at our impotence, our watchword must be patience and care."

Two years later the same writer repeats his lesson

[3] Germany's naval propaganda is replete with contradictions and subterfuges. There is a large amount of material intended for the German taxpayer, and a great many arguments for the use of English pacifists. But this disavowal of any intention to obtain colonies is unique. Cf. "P. Y. B." 1913, December number, p. 574: "Germany's political task in the present state of the world can be no other than to found a great colonial empire, and not to permit that anything is taken as a sphere of interest unless we are participators." By this standard we must judge her protestations of innocence in her designs against England.

on patience in the words: "Time is in our favour, and we must carefully avoid everything which might hasten the crisis with England."

An open letter from Professor Delbrück was published in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1911, in which the people of England were informed that the building of Germany's fleet was the answer to England's shortsighted and envious policy.[4] Delbrück repeated the well-worn phrase that Germany had no intention of attacking England (which we readily believe, because her preparations for attack were not completed), and asserts that it is impossible to remove the tension between the two countries. "For all time the German nation will insist upon having a fleet which inspires respect in the English, and we shall build all the more because our overseas commerce is continually on the increase. I belong to those who do not expect any success either from arbitration treaties or international armament limitations."

This utterance deserves special notice, because it expresses in brief form the opinion of the German nation. All thinking Germans have long been convinced that any friendly arrangement with England was outside the realm of practical politics.

In one place we are told that England's envy has

[4] Considering that Delbrück had made fun of England's friendship when offered by Mr. Chamberlain (1898 and 1899) and later by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, it is difficult to understand what would have appeased the Germans. They rejected our friendship, and accused us of envying and hating them!

driven the German Empire to build a great fleet, and in another and later article ("P. Y. B.," November, 1913, p. 363) a very different version occurs. In this place Delbrück admits that England's mistrust and jealousy (*Argwohn*) have disappeared, and that Great Britain is resigned to German rivalry.

He writes: "The suspicion that Germany is preparing for war has evidently absolutely disappeared. Is it possible under these circumstances to diminish our naval armaments? No! the continuation of our ship-building will not spoil our good relations to England." Then he asks: "Are we approaching a period of general peace and friendship, an era of well-being and content?" and answers it in the negative: "It will be just the contrary, for humanity only feels well amidst strife."

Thus it is evident that no force whatever could change Germany's purpose to rival England on the waters. Ostensibly her fleet was to protect her from English aggression, and although the Fatherland's agitators never ceased to frighten the German public by that bogy, yet her responsible leaders knew that there was no danger from long-suffering England, and even when claiming that England had been lulled into the desired calm, still more German ships had to be built. The fact that England seemed reconciled to the presence of a great German fleet near her coasts seems to have given German writers considerable satisfaction.

In the "P. Y. B." for March, 1812, it is recorded that "Germans believe that England's international affairs will compel her *nolens volens* to put up with the German fleet, and our agitators are recommending that the opportunity should be made use of to increase the naval programme."

More than once a note of rejoicing is heard that England is getting tired of the race. Reventlow writes on p. 386 of his book: "The offers of Haldane and Churchill show that matters are becoming more difficult for England from the financial, military and naval points of view. Further, the English place great hope in the international and pacifistic movement in Germany."

For several years past the opinion has gradually gained ground that England was getting tired of the race and she was beginning to feel the drain upon her resources. This, it was said, was the real motive for Mr. Churchill proposing a naval holiday. Our ardent desire for an equitable arrangement was not considered a sign that we respected Germany's right to exist and thrive, but Germans said on all sides, that the arrangement was sought because England saw that was her only hope to escape either gradual suffocation or Germany's final grand attack.

The newspapers contained (1913) elaborate proofs that this country was far more heavily burdened with taxation than the Fatherland. Although the writer is unable to quote the statistics cited, he

remembers the line of argument, which was as follows:

The taxation of the entire population of the British Isles is 45s. per head, while in Germany it works out at 25s. per unit. The astute agitators omitted the fact that every German whose income is £30 per annum pays both rates and taxes; further, that taxation in England only commences on incomes of £160 per annum. In Germany every individual — even servant-girls — have had to pay income-tax, and the rates are calculated on that basis, e.g., in Erlangen a person who paid 100 pence income tax contributed 140 pence to local rates. That is to say, the rates are 140 per cent. of amount paid for income tax. The percentage for rates varies; in Munich it is about 200 per cent. In England there are millions of men and women who contribute nothing in direct taxation; in Germany there is not a single individual who escapes the duty of rendering unto Cæsar.

While Lord Haldane was in Berlin the writer had a conversation with an old pupil of Treitschke, Professor Beckmann, of Erlangen University. The naval question was the topic under discussion, and the writer pointed out that naval supremacy is a life-and-death question for England, for supposing that England defeated the German navy, she would still be unable to threaten Germany's existence. Therefore it was absolutely necessary for the two peoples

to make an arrangement by which German interests would be protected and England's existence secured. The sea is, in fact, England's jugular vein, and if she loses command of the seas, then her jugular vein is cut. "So much the better," replied Professor B.; "and we Germans look upon it as our destined mission to sever that particular vein."

His subsequent remarks were to the effect that no such arrangement would ever be ratified by Germany. "The government which took that step would cause a revolution in Germany. We look upon the trident as our birthright, and if things go on as they are, the day will inevitably come when England will voluntarily surrender it; if she will not, we shall take it by force. Meanwhile, you can rest assured that Berlin will amuse Lord Haldane and themselves, but nothing of a binding nature will be done."

It is true, that when the failure of Lord Haldane's mission became evident, Germans heaved a sigh of relief. They had feared that "English cunning" might succeed in wheedling the Kaiser and his government into selling Germany's "birth-right" for a mess of pottage, in the form of an agreement limiting the growth of the two fleets.

Count Reventlow continues, p. 389: "The fruits of heavy work and great sacrifice will soon ripen, but they can only ripen if we continue to tread the appointed and prepared way. We must proceed calmly and resolutely, and not allow ourselves to be

blinded into thinking Great Britain's interest is Germany's welfare.

"When the English people see that neither time nor change in political parties nor gushing politeness are able to exercise any influence in diminishing the German fleet, then they will at last resign themselves to the inevitable."

The same writer expresses his keen satisfaction that Herr von Bülow during his Chancellorship (1900 to 1909) and his successor, Bethmann-Hollweg, both set their faces against England's "allurements." These ministers could not have followed any other course, for the Kaiser did not want England's friendship. Germany's foreign policy is a personal policy dictated by the Emperor, and no Chancellor could remain in office whose international policy was not in accordance with the Kaiser's wishes.

Reventlow, together with other writers, admits that von Bülow's refusal to make an arrangement with England drove the latter into the *entente cordiale*.

It is difficult to see how England could have satisfied the Fatherland, for she would not deign to accept our proffered friendship, and was enraged with England for making a friendly arrangement with both France and Russia.

There were Germans, however, who saw that it was an imperative necessity for Germany to arrive at some mutual understanding with this country:

"An arrangement with England concerning naval armaments is the Archimedean point of leverage, at which a world policy on a grand scale can be assured to the German Empire. Without this understanding with England we shall always be troubled with the fear that our future, which is to be on the water, disappears one fine day under the water." [5]

Another writer may be cited in support of the point that Germany never intended to recognize England's naval supremacy, which is synonymous with England's existence. The writer is an American, and not open to a charge of partiality. "Germany is determined to possess a battle fleet so strong that a war with her would, even for the greatest naval power, be attended by such danger as would render that power's position doubtful. The suggestion that England should make an arrangement with Germany and retain her preponderance on the sea does not seem a futility in England; in Germany it is regarded as verging upon impudence." [6]

For many years a semi-official Navy Year Book (*Taschenbuch der Kriefsflotten*) has appeared in Berlin. The issue for 1913 comments on the political situation as follows: "The critical period which Germany passed through in 1911, and which brought into the realm of probabilities an unexpected attack

[5] "Von Bismarck bis Bethmann," by Dr. Michaelis, p. 134. Berlin, 1911.

[6] "Monarchical Socialism in Germany," by Elmer Roberts. London and New York, 1913.

from England assisted by France, has opened the eyes of the German nation to the threatened danger. The national outburst which this caused, found expression in a vigorous demand by the expert and daily press, by the newly-founded defence society (*Wehrverein*), by the German Navy League and other patriotic societies, for increased imperial security against that kind of sudden hostilities. In February, 1912, the speech from the throne announced another armaments bill (*Wehrvorlage*), which provided for an increase in the army and navy, and raised the standard of their preparedness for war, and on May 21st, the bill was passed by the Reichstag with praiseworthy unanimity."

No mention is made of the fact that Germany alone provoked the crisis of 1911, but the defensive measures taken by England and France against Germany's bullying attempt to destroy the *entente cordiale* in that year were immediately exploited in Germany to obtain more ships. The Reichstag granted an increase of eight battleships, four battle-cruisers and six small cruisers, together with a corresponding increase in men, etc.

The same writer continues, p. 561: "British naval policy in 1912 again showed in the plainest manner its anti-German tendency." Mr. Churchill's proposals are quoted with amused contempt. "His declarations, with their remarkable frankness, were obviously directed to the address of the German peo-

ple and the Reichstag, which was then awaiting a new navy bill. The joyful acceptance which the said bill met with a few months later must have been a little disappointing in reference to the influence of Churchill's speech."

The *Taschenbuch* bemoans the fact that "in autumn every year, on all German ships, the reservists are dismissed, that is to say, nearly one-third of the crews. These are replaced largely by recruits from the agricultural population. This causes the navy's preparedness for war to be diminished for a considerable time."

There is one other book which deserves to be quoted in this chapter, and it is probably the most important of all, for it was written by a high official of the German Admiralty and illustrated by a personal friend of the Kaiser's.[7] Men holding positions like Stöwer and Wislicenus, and men in close personal touch with the German Emperor, would never dare to write anything which they were not sure was in accord with the opinions held by their imperial master. The work in question[8] was an officially recognized publication in honour of the twenty-fifth year of the Kaiser's reign, and has had a large circulation throughout Germany. The following is a selection from the author's opinions:

[7] See p. 282.

[8] "Kaiser Wilhelm II. und die Marine," by Professor Stöwer and Admiralty Councillor G. Wislicenus. Berlin, 1913.

"To the English every non-British battleship is a luxury. But British claims in regard to the supremacy of the sea are outside the domains of logic and morality. At least according to German feelings of honour" (*Ehrgefühl* — the old story. *Vide* p. 90). "No British expert fears a German attack, but many of them would like to spring upon young Siegfried [Germany] from an ambush, slip a noose round his neck and throttle him, in order to make him poor and harmless for centuries to come. As soon as this rival [Germany] is done with, then the fate of our fleet is settled too. The anxiety in the supremacy question is so great that they even talk of danger and menace."

Wislicenus finds the topic of English envy and suspicion inexhaustible, and again and again he calls up before his readers the spectre of robber England waiting to pounce upon Germany without a declaration of war. Like all other German naval writers, he glories in the fact that Lord Haldane was not able to bring about an understanding limiting Germany's naval expansion.

"The instigators of strife in England employed the Morocco question to provoke a war. England wanted war, but in spite of the fact that she had her coal stores on the East Coast all in readiness, her hopes were disappointed."

In reply to England's "stupid threat of intervention" (1911) "it was shown more clearly than ever

by the overwhelming majority in the Reichstag for the navy bill (1912) and the absence of opposition, that Germany possesses — in spite of British threats — an unconquerable, immovable will to assert herself as a naval power, and to be armed against all enviers, to protect German commerce and shipping, and the freedom of the seas."

In view of the historical fact that England founded and for a century has maintained the "freedom of the seas" to all comers, it is hard to understand what Wislicenus's modern crusade intends to achieve. German commerce and shipping are merely secondary results arising from conditions created by the British fleet. If the British fleet had not long since established the freedom of the ocean, in all probability German commerce would never have come into being.

"Friedrich List exclaimed some seventy years ago: 'Might is the freedom of the State,' and this has become a watchword among all sensible Germans. In 1911 foreign threats of war blew away German Michael's cap, but he only grasped his helmet and shield in order to show his enemies his teeth." (Exact translation.— Author.)

Wislicenus's rage boils over when discussing England's fleet a necessity, Germany's a luxury. "The British Statesmen would have preferred to declare, like Palmerston in 1848, that steamers flying the German Imperial flag would be treated as pirates;

and they would gladly have claimed that battleships may only be built in England, and only for the British fleet. But they dare not. The Germans are not a Hindoo people with the souls of slaves, but a blond, manly, warlike nation, and as good as the British."

In summing up, the author wishes to emphasize the fact that he has only cited high and responsible authorities. Their language is sufficiently violent, but their utterances are exceedingly polite in comparison to the opinions which prevailed among the masses of the German nation in ante-war days, especially in the reptile press, the publications of the Navy League, and the sensational romances on the coming war with England.

English Statesmen so far apart in their political convictions as Joseph Chamberlain, Campbell-Bannermann, Winston Churchill and Lord Haldane have endeavoured to conciliate Germany, but have only met with German truculence, personal vilification and contempt. England has offered Germany friendship — and it has been spat upon. England has offered Germany every security to her sea-borne trade in return for a mutual limitation of armaments, and Germany has rejected the offer.

Germany knew that she already had security for her commerce — England's sense of justice and fair play was an absolute guarantee of that. Germany rejected all formal offers on the subject, because she

would have been compelled to renounce her ambition for naval supremacy and world domination; and Germany has only to thank her insensate ambition that she is to-day England's enemy, and not England's friend.

England's cause is a just cause, and doubly so because she has done everything humanly possible to conciliate an irreconcilable, uncompromising, arrogant rival.

Germany's own literature as quoted in this work shows conclusively that England has avoided giving offence, has not sought the conflict, but that Germany has wantonly forced it upon her.

CHAPTER XVII

PEACE, WAR AND ARBITRATION

THE present does not seem to the writer an appropriate time to open up debatable questions, or the right moment to apportion responsibility. Yet it is an imperative duty to miss no opportunity to collect facts, weigh them, and form opinions in readiness for the universal rearrangement which will come after the war. In England the writer hopes that some of the forces which have assisted in forming and leading public opinion will be deposed from their pedestal of ignorance.

Unfortunately there are millions of English people who, one year ago, could not speak too disparagingly of our army and missed no opportunity of slighting it. It is to be hoped that the events of 1914 have given them saner opinons. Some individuals seem, however, to be quite incorrigible, as witness the congress of the Free Churches held in Manchester.

The *Daily Mail* reported on March 12th that a delegate wished to send " fraternal greetings " from the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches to their brethren in Germany. Here is an example of crass ignorance. Who and what are the Free

Churches in Germany? The author must regretfully answer that they are nothing and represent nobody. In 1910 there were 39,991,421 Lutherans; 23,821,453 Roman Catholics; 615,021 Jews and 283,946 members of other Christian Churches in the German Empire. The last number includes members of the Greek Church (the Russians, who belong to the Greek Church, have many congregations in Germany); Church of England (which *had* a very considerable number of members in the Fatherland); and the Free Churches (Methodists, Baptists, Salvation Army, etc.).

At a very liberal estimate the Free Churches can only claim about 150,000 members in the 68,000,000 inhabitants of the Kaiser's empire. They are despised socially and do not possess a fragment of political power. Yet the Rev. F. B. Meyer and others of his school, have believed and taught that England and the cause of progress had a great deal to hope from the Free Churches in Germany.

The Christians who belong to the Free Churches in Germany are free only in name. If they had dared to utter such sentiments as Free Churchmen have given expression to in England, they would have been shot years ago.

It must not be forgotten that this 150,000 includes men, women and children, and of the men not one occupies a position of influence. And in case the Rev. F. B. Meyer is anxious to obtain knowledge,

the author hastens to inform him that the Free Churches in Germany are not the "little leaven which leaveneth the whole."

Since the writer returned to England he has been amazed on many occasions at the awful misconceptions which prevail (or prevailed?) among Englishmen in regard to German life. One Free Church pastor had industriously informed his congregation that Germany is the most religious country in the world. The writer had the pleasure of a conversation with this gentleman, and heard his experience at first hand.

The reverend gentleman had been present at a Free Church Congress in Berlin, although he does not know a word of German. At the concluding meeting some 2,000 delegates from all parts of the world joined hands and sang the same hymn, each in his own language. The reverend gentleman said it was the most inspiring moment in his life, and under this rhapsodic impression concluded that the Germans are the most religious people in the world. Worse than all, he and many of his like, have found Englishmen capable of believing such an erroneous conclusion.

During the Boer War an Englishman was present at a dance given in Berlin. It was an assembly of influential personages. During the evening a telegram arrived announcing a British defeat in South Africa, and the merry throng went wild with joy.

In the midst of the patriotic demonstration which followed, a lonely figure was observed, evidently one who did not share the gladness of the moment. Then the hosts remembered that an Englishman was in the company, and that their behaviour was probably wounding his feelings. Someone proposed that they should sing "God save the Queen" in order to heal the wound — and those Teutons sang our National Anthem with awe-inspiring fervour!

Knowing this fact and many more illustrations of the kind, the author ventures to advise the Free Church pastor not to place too much importance upon theatrical displays when they are engineered by Germans. German character is the same, whether it is concealed beneath the drab coat of a German Methodist or the gay uniform of a German officer.

German war literature is even more voluminous than that reviewed in the last two chapters. It is only possible to give an idea of its general trend by quoting from living writers. Professor Delbrück — the man on whom Treitschke's mantle fell — wrote in the "P. Y. B." for November, 1910, a fifty-page glorification of the sword. It is called "In Wehr und Waffen" ("Fully armed and equipped"), and begins with an old German proverb:

> Selig ist das Land und die Stadt
> So bei Friedenszeiten den Krieg betracht.
>
> (Blessed is the land and the town
> Which in peace make a study of arms.)

Delbrück affirms that: "Modern civilization rests on the great national States, and they depend for existence upon their armaments. The abolition of armies would immediately produce a general war. War and all its horrors has been replaced by world competition in armaments, the so-called 'dry' war."

In order to show that Germany has not suffered economically from the large sums spent on armaments Delbrück states that in 1895 income tax was paid on £33,000,000 sterling, and in 1910 this had risen to £45,000,000.

"The most important part of the industrial mechanism is, and will remain, the cannon; and the indispensable bearer of *Kultur* is, and will remain, the soldier, who creates peace. Not only the outward army must be maintained but the inner also — the moral force, the warlike spirit, without which the best and most perfect warlike weapons are useless. Warlike spirit does not mean the lust of bloodshed and a desire for the awful doings of war for their own sake. It should only mean, and does to-day, the readiness and firmness of will to accept the struggle with all its horrors when it has become necessary."

The author of the above overlooks one essential consideration, viz.: Who is to decide when war is necessary? Charles I. claimed the right to decide when ship-money was necessary, and Kaiser Wilhelm claims the right to decide when war is necessary.

In January, 1912, Professor Delbrück returned to the theme, "P. Y. B.," p. 169: "The danger of a great war, which we only narrowly escaped last year, has only disappeared for a moment. That danger stands on the horizon, threatening, immovable and inevitable. War creates moral qualities of unlimited power, and human progress has come above all from the great wars of history."

Germany to-day could probably confirm something of Delbrück's picture of the great regenerator. "In war the work of the fields is neglected, the land is neither sown nor reaped; the machines in the factories are rusting, for the men have been called to battle; the thunder of mines and shells is heard on land and sea; the flames devour what generations have built. The houseowner gets no rent, the creditor no payment, the shareholder no dividends, and the State no taxes. Like a thief in the night this war will come on us. 'The Germans will wake up one morning,' said the English minister Lee a long time ago, 'and hear that they have had a fleet.' Only a few weeks ago we were standing on the brink of this precipice, while the English fleet was lying in ambush ready to fetch our navy out to the slaughter, which would have opened all the gates of hell to let loose hell's horrors on Europe. Therefore the cry echoes through the land: 'Strengthen our fleet.'"

Throughout the article Delbrück writes of the

" next " war as an absolute certainty, which contradicts his previous assertion that the " dry " war had replaced real warfare.

General von Bernhardi has been intentionally omitted from this work, because Bernhardi's principal contributions to war literature are accessible to every reader.

The present writer does not underrate Bernhardi's influence or the interest which his writings should have for English readers. It is, however, an error to suppose that Bernhardi converted the German nation to his theories of aggression by brute force. Instead of converting the German nation, Bernhardi is on the other hand merely its mouthpiece. He has absorbed Germanism into himself, assimilated it, and then given it to the world stamped with his own impress. In relation to the gospel of brute force Bernhardi occupies the same position as Herbert Spencer does to evolution. He has applied the gospel in detail.

German military men look upon Bernhardi's principal work as *ein plumper Verrat* (a clumsy betrayal). The author doubts whether one in a thousand Germans had ever heard of Bernhardi before the great war. Certainly those who read him were not converts, but they studied his pages because Bernhardi gave clear expression to their own feelings and creed.

Taking an analogy from the botanical world,

Bernahrdi is the fruit hanging from the great tree of Germanism, with this difference: he did exercise some influence on the tree which produced him, while a ripe apple does not influence its parent tree.

There are historical reasons, although no justification, why Germany has accepted militarism as a gospel from which alone earthly salvation is attainable. Her Empire was founded by the sword, and its expansion was only believed to be possible by a policy of blood and iron. With few insignificant exceptions all German writers have inculcated this teaching. It would be impossible to write even a chapter in favour of peace and arbitration based upon material taken from reputable German sources.

From the German point of view peace is not an end in itself, but merely a preparation for war. Logically, arbitration is to the war school high treason of the most dastardly nature. In discussing the pacific movement ("P. Y. B.," November, 1910), Professor Delbrück's disciple Dr. Daniels declares that "one of the most dangerous movements to peace is the English popular pacific movement." History has proved that statement to be true; not because the ideals of the pacifists are wrong in themselves, but because the pacifists had too little knowledge of humanity and still less of international political conditions.

They would have been wise to follow the example of the ancient Jews who built the Temple, with their

swords ever ready for use. By this precautionary measure they were enabled to complete a glorious work. English pacifists, on the contrary, have advised this nation to throw away the sword while building a great temple of peace. If all the nations of the world were agreed that the sword should be turned into a ploughshare, the advice of our pacifists would have been excellent. But in view of the fact that no European nation, including the English, is ripe for the millennium, their advice bears a striking resemblance to treachery and treason.

The efforts of the peace party have achieved nothing worthy or desirable. This country has been lulled into a sense of false security, and Germany has been led to believe that England would not fight. Two voices have been recognizable in the Fatherland, the one blatant militarism, the other for peace and friendship with England. Only one of these voices has found interpretation in deeds — the former. Therefore it behooved England to listen to that one alone. Had this been done, military measures would have been taken which in all probability might have prevented war.

As the question of retrenchment in naval and military expenditure was the battle cry of the pacifists, it is well to look that question fairly in the face in order to see if it really is true economy. Germany spends annually £32,000,000 on her army, *i.e.*, an army based upon universal service. Supposing Eng-

land had accepted universal service in 1904, and putting the annual cost at £50,000,000 (a figure well in advance of Germany's), then this country would have expended £500,000,000 up till July, 1914, and would have had an army ready and able to keep England's pledged word — Belgian neutrality. Germany would then have recognized that Great Britain was both willing and able to protect her honour.

Another point deserving consideration is: Who has paid for English armaments? There are millions of Free Churchmen and Social Democrats in this country who contribute nothing to the State in direct taxation, and what they have paid towards the army and navy in indirect taxation is a negligible quantity. Yet their voice was the loudest in calling for decreased armaments. To-day they are probably glad that other people's money built the British navy, which alone protects Methodist, Baptist and Independent Churches from the fate which has overtaken Belgian churches. In Germany all the working classes — male and female — have helped by direct and indirect taxation to build the German fleet. Furthermore, the workmen have sacrificed two or three years' wages while serving with the colours, and it is interesting that in the country where the working classes have made real and heavy sacrifices for armaments, there has been hardly any protest against them. Have British workmen made sacrifices like these? Have they made any sacrifice

which gives them the right to protest against armaments in time of peace and to threaten the nation's existence by strikes and labour troubles in time of war?

Mr. Lloyd George has stated that by the end of the present year the war will have cost us £900,000,000 without counting losses inflicted by the enemy, loss of trade, and what should interest the pacifists most of all — loss of life.

A certain writer has endeavoured to prove that money spent on armaments is "The Great Illusion," but the present writer ventures to say it is a Great Delusion not to spend money to prevent war. Mr. Norman Angell boasts in "Who's Who" of the number of languages into which his "Great Illusion" has been translated, but he omits to mention any one country which has failed to declare it in practice a — Great Delusion! To England's bitter cost the dupes were all Englishmen. For it will be England's cost! This war must be fought till England is victorious; but the man who believes that Germany can pay the bill must possess an exceedingly sanguine temperament.

Delbrück, writing in the volume last quoted, says of pacifism in Germany: "This movement brings dangers for the intellectual health of our people, and it is necessary to fight against them."

Another writer[1] denounces the movement as

[1] Count Loringboren in "The Fundamentals of Warlike Success." Berlin, 1914.

"vague cosmopolitan humanitarian ecstasy," and in another work [2] protests against "the hateful high-sounding word 'militarism,' which is not applicable to German conditions." After reviewing a number of recent wars, General Loringboren continues: "What I have written is a continuous series of refutations of the doctrine of eternal peace. The latter emanates from effeminate natures who have forgotten what Treitschke says: 'History bears throughout only manly traits, and was not made for women or sentimentalists.' Pacifism is at bottom the crassest materialism which wraps itself in unintelligible phrases about idealism, thus deceiving simple natures as to its real essence."

A still more recent work [3] deals exhaustively with the question of arbitration. On p. 284, Reventlow writes: "The Hague Conference was only an English trick to cripple Germany and keep her fleet under. The popular opinion in Germany at the time was, that England at the head of the other powers, having failed to overwhelm us politically and diplomatically, was now trying to weaken our defensive power — the backbone of national existence. A great wave of disquietude went over the nation."

With regard to the second Hague Conference, Reventlow reports: "The Chancellor von Bülow said openly in 1907 that he hoped for nothing from

[2] "War and Politics in Modern Times." Berlin, 1911.

[3] Count Reventlow's "Germany's Foreign Policy." Berlin, 1914.

such discussions, although he was prepared to take part. Public opinion, as expressed in press and parliament, was in favour of boycotting the conference. Britain's proposals for the limitation of navies may have been honest, but it would have meant an end to Germany's future sea-power, and would have erected an international curatorship under English direction." It was the German delegate, Baron von Marshall, who rejected the proposal of an International Arbitration Court. According to Reventlow, Portugal was " put up " by perfidious England to make the proposal.

The same historian records that the second Hague Conference, as far as Germany is concerned, quickly went to oblivion. It was of little or no importance, and in all essentials Germany had had her will accepted.

The writer has arrived at the end of his task, as he does not propose to discuss the events of the last eight months. For many years he has believed this war to be inevitable, yet could never persuade an Englishman that there was danger ahead. England is now faced with a great task. She has tried in vain by concessions and persuasion to conciliate the sullen, envious, suspicious and uncompromising Teuton. A time will come when the blame for those mistaken efforts must be apportioned. In any case, the writer hopes that the snake will never again be taken into England's bosom.

When the writer determined to settle in Germany for a time, he visited the British Vice-Consul in Geneva, and was astonished to find that gentleman to be a German — Herr Stein. On arriving in Nuremberg, he found an American-German-British Vice-Consul, and if readers will take up "Whittaker's Almanack" (large edition) for 1914, they will find that Great Britain had Germans acting as British Consuls throughout the German Empire and outside it. Considering the rivalry which existed between the two countries, it was an imperative necessity that native Englishmen should have represented this country. What England wanted was impartial accounts of German feeling and national aims, as well as trade returns, and these could not be obtained from Germans.

In 1914 the British Consul in Nuremberg died, and several score (local report said about a hundred) German merchants scrambled to get the position. They were actuated not by any desire to serve this country, nor to earn money, for the position was honorary. But simply to obtain the title *Herr Consul* as a social and business asset.

One of the Nuremberg candidates was a commercial traveller, and his employers offered to make him a partner in the firm (hop merchants) if he became British Consul. He was not appointed.

The late Consul (Herr Ehrenbacher) was a Jewish hop merchant, who exported hops to these islands.

Certain circles in England have agitated for a tariff on hops, because it is alleged that the large import of hops from Nuremberg is ruining English hop-growers. How could Herr Ehrenbacher give impartial reports on the hop trade when those reports might have led to a hostile tariff against his own business? This instance might be multiplied many times, but it will suffice to prove that our Consular system in Germany has been useless, possibly pernicious.

At home, Germans have taught in our naval and military colleges, Germans have examined candidates for both services, Germans have taught in our universities and schools, Germans have held posts in our government and other public departments; in fact, the German is ubiquitous in English life. They can and should be replaced by qualified Englishmen. Instead of maudlin internationalism, England must cultivate nationalism, or the present generation is unworthy of their splendid heritage.

Germany has returned our fair-dealing and friendly overtures with low cunning, brute force, and hate. The hate is natural, because the two nations stand for opposite ideals, and if both be honest, neither could love the other. Germany has proclaimed to the world her love for peace, but the Teutonic conception of peace is to be allowed to do what Germany likes, *i.e.*, to imitate on an international scale the doings of robber knights. Her *Kultur* is

at best merely the universal rule of the drill-sergeant.

England has sought peace and been surprised by war, but the writer believes that she has right, justice and the spirit of progress on her side; yet these alone cannot win the war. The writer is convinced from his knowledge of Germany, that it will be necessary for England to use her entire strength if she desires to gain a decisive victory.

The present war is the result not only of conflicting material interests, but it is the clash of two great systems — *Kultur* and culture. England is fighting for popular government against autocracy, English ideals of justice, English homes, and the existence of the British Empire. It is a splendid stake, and a nation worthy of such a heritage should be inspired by a national enthusiasm —" to win off her own bat."

Allies are welcome, but future generations of Britons must be able to say: "Our forefathers built up their Empire, defended it against German aggression, and handed it down to us by their own might." Therefore, let England rely now on herself and not on another nation's steam-roller. This is a war against a nation of highly-trained, drilled, human tigers, whose motto is *saigner à blanc,* whose chivalry and mercy are illustrated by fiendish laughter at the drowning struggles of non-combatant victims. If Germany is victorious her methods and principles will have overthrown all the humane ideals which

Christianity has taken nearly twenty centuries to evolve. It is England's mission to prevent that catastrophe and at the same time vindicate among nations the principles which she first taught to individuals — the traditions of fair-play.

APPENDIX I

CRIME IN THE GERMAN ARMY AND NAVY

THE standing army in 1913 consisted of 790,778 officers and men; in the navy there were 66,500 officers and men, making a total for the two services of 857,278 men under arms. Germany possesses a special penal code for her army and navy.

The following are a few of the provisions of the code. Par. 124: assaulting a superior, not less than three years' imprisonment; if the assault is committed with any kind of weapon, the minimum punishment is five years. Par. 100: for inciting to insubordination, not less than five years' imprisonment. Par. 69 punishes desertion with six months' to two years' imprisonment. Par. 121 forbids soldiers to be treated otherwise than according to the regulations; an offence against this law is punishable by imprisonment up to two years. For accepting presents, borrowing from inferiors, N.C.O.'s may be condemned to arrest or imprisonment up to two years. Par. 94 states that he who refuses to obey, or shows his unwillingness to obey by word or gesture or any action whatsoever, will be punished with imprisonment up to three years. The possible sentence for self-mutilation (par. 81), in order to escape service in the army or navy, is, minimum one, maximum five years. Persons subject to military discipline who marry without the commanding officer's consent are liable (par. 150) to three months' fortress, in addition to which officers may be dismissed the service. Illtreating soldiers or inferiors is pun-

ishable with one week's arrest up to two years' imprisonment.

The peace strength of the German Army is: infantry, 515,216; cavalry, 85,593; artillery, 126,042; pioneers, 24,010; railway corps, 6,014; telegraph corps, 6,835; airship and flight department, 5,015; various, 1,018; train (heavy artillery), 11,597; special service, 3,825; non-regimental officers (General Staff, etc.), 5,551. The entire officers corps consists of 30,253 men, excluding reserve officers.

In 1903 the German budget included thirty-three million pounds sterling for the army, or 11s. 3d. per head of the entire population. In 1912 the amount was forty-seven and a half millions, or 14s. 3d. per head. The English figures for the same years are: thirty-two millions, or 15s. 3d. per head, and twenty-eight and two-fifths millions, or 12s. 8d. per head.

MILITARY OFFENCES

	Total sentenced	Desertion	Without leave of absence	Disrespectful behaviour	Disobedience
1911	16,691	647	1,669	892	1,803
1912	17,045	748	1,783	821	1,861

	Insulting superiors	Resisting authority	Assaults on superiors	Offences against sentries	Insulting inferiors
1911	213	91	88	45	167
1912	220	105	86	69	184

	Illtreating inferiors	Breaches of discipline by sentries
1911	359	95
1912	306	96

OFFENCES AGAINST THE CIVIL CODE

	Breaches of public order	Rapes, etc.	Insults	Duelling	Malicious wounding	Theft
1911	149	76	293	76	1,310	435
1912	173	75	272	75	1,226	428

	Fraud, embezzlement and forgery	Damage to property
1911	508	112
1912	586	119

The author contends that these statistics do not support the hypothesis that militarism has been the main fount of crime in the Fatherland. Deducting 100,000 as representing the educated classes (one-year men and officers), we have the remainder of 750,000 men from the German masses. Their offences during one year are by no means a bad record.

APPENDIX II

CRIME UNDER *KULTUR* AND CULTURE

THE comparison between England and Germany's crime statistics is not made in any pharisaical spirit. But it is of interest in view of the fact that in the country where materialism, and its handmaiden, Social Democracy, have flourished, we find an appalling number of brutal crimes against the individual and his property.

In order to anticipate a possible objection, it may be conceded at once that intemperance is more widespread in England than Germany. Germany's consumption of alcohol is much smaller than the amount consumed in the British Isles, where spirits (whisky, brandy, etc.) are drunk in vastly greater quantities than *Schnaps* in the Fatherland.

The author's frank opinion is that whatever ideals of life, whatever feelings of responsibility to God and man, existed in the German masses fifty years ago, have been undermined and overthrown by the pernicious teachings of Bebel, Marx, Singer, Engel, Südekum, Liebknecht, Heine, and the remaining Jews and Gentiles who have exploited the innate envy of the German working classes. These leaders have destroyed what ideals and honourable standards formerly existed, and have not replaced them by others, but in their place they have inoculated the multitude with atheism and class hatred.

The following figures give the yearly averages for the British Isles (population 45,000,000) and Germany (popu-

lation 66,000,000), over a period of twelve years, 1901-1912 inclusive.

German sources consulted were the *Vierteljahrshefte,* published by the Imperial Statistic Office, Berlin, principally Vols. 247 (issued in 1912) and 267 (issued in 1914). They may be seen in the British Museum Reading Room, press mark E. S. vii. b., and are the only sources which give complete, reliable statistics of crime in Germany. The *Jahrbücher* merely give summarized results, which led the only gentleman (Mr. Joseph McCabe) who ventured to criticize my figures into serious mis-statements.

In earlier editions the German statistics quoted gave the total numbers of crimes in each class reported to the police, while the following figures for both the British Isles and Germany are the numbers of individuals actually convicted. Furthermore, the German figures do not include the crimes committed by soldiers and sailors in the German army and navy respectively. The British statistics include all persons convicted in these islands, whether civilians or otherwise, so that the ensuing comparison is still unintentionally favourable to the German side.

Although Mr. McCabe stated, without a shred of proof, that crime had diminished in Germany, the Berlin authorities flatly contradict him.

Vierteljahrshefte, Vol. 247, Section II., p. 1. "If one considers the proportional numbers, then it becomes clear that in this period (1882-1910), the number of those convicted has considerably increased. In 1882 for every 100,000 of the population there were 996 convictions; in 1910 the number had risen to 1,173."

Again, in Vol. 267 (published in 1914), the Berlin officials state in their introduction that "criminality has increased among the male population, but there has been a decrease in female criminality of .53% in 1912.

"The curve representing crime among male youths (under 18 years of age) is at first fairly horizontal; but from the year 1888 till 1892 there was a terrible (*jäh*) rise, from which point it shows unimportant variations up till 1904. Again rising, it attained its highest point in 1906, after which it goes downward to 1911, but in the report-year (1912) it has again gone up to the level of 1907."

Where statistics are not accessible, the space has been left blank.

Nature of Crime.	BRITISH ISLES (yearly average)	GERMANY (yearly average)
Murder	80 together	91
Baby murder		142
Manslaughter	216 together	193
Killing without intent *		680
Procuring abortion †	23	765
Malicious and felonious wounding	1,213	125,386
Malicious damage to property	358	19,689
Arson	278	610
Perjury	98	554
Blackmail	—	716

* *E. g.*, a man kills another in a free fight. Before the court he maintains that he "had no intention to kill." The great majority of German manslaughter cases and "killings without intent" would be classed as murder and punished by death under English law. In Germany the criminal is usually sentenced to imprisonment, from six months to four years.

† The frequency of this crime is appalling, the number of convictions rose from 457 in 1901, to 1,318 in 1912. During the twelve years under consideration only two persons were convicted of this crime in Ireland.

	BRITISH ISLES	GERMANY
Incest	53	489
Unnatural crimes*	122	648
Rapes, defilement of imbeciles and girls under 14	789†	5,310
White slavery and procuration	27	3,900‡
Dissemination of indecent literature	—	2,760
Petitions for divorce	965	20,340
Illegitimacy	48,702	178,115

*The German figures for 1912 in Vol. 267, p. 292, are:
Indecency with males, 611 charges, 536 convictions.
" " animals, 390 " 319 "

† Including 408 cases of indecent assault. Further, the British statistics include offences against girls under 16; offences against girls above 14 do not appear to be included in the German figures, but they include over 2,000 crimes on girls under 14.

The German report classifies these crimes *Unzucht mit Gewalt* (immorality with violence), which would seem to mean that the whole of the total 5,310 refers to violations. The British average for the latter crime is 146.

‡ Under this head, 487 husbands and parents were charged, and 379 convicted, for procuring their own wives or children, in 1912.

British statistics were compiled from the publications of the Home Office; Judicial Statistics for Ireland, Dublin, and Judicial Statistics of Scotland, Edinburgh.

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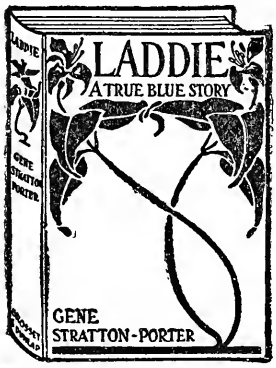

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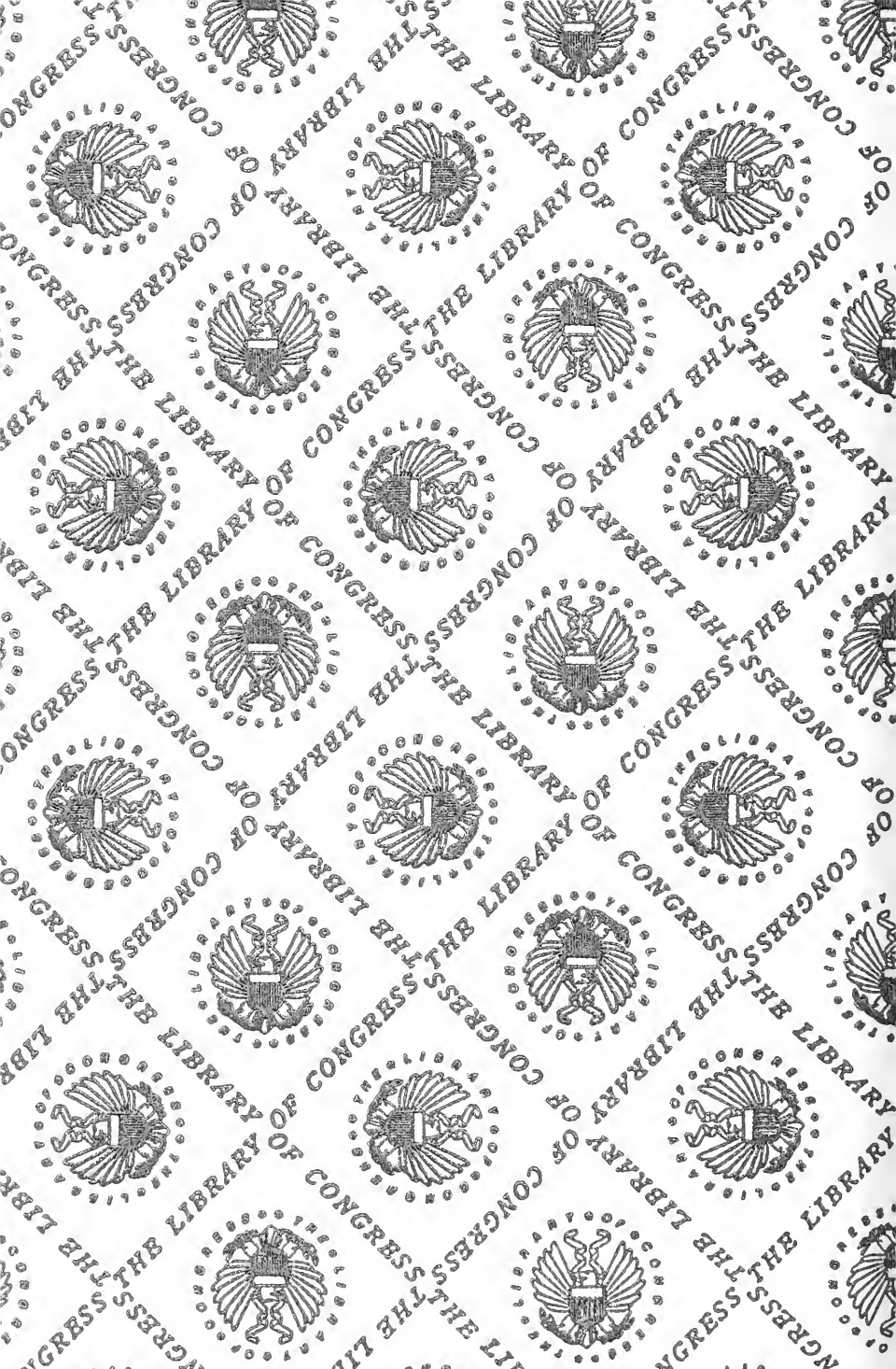

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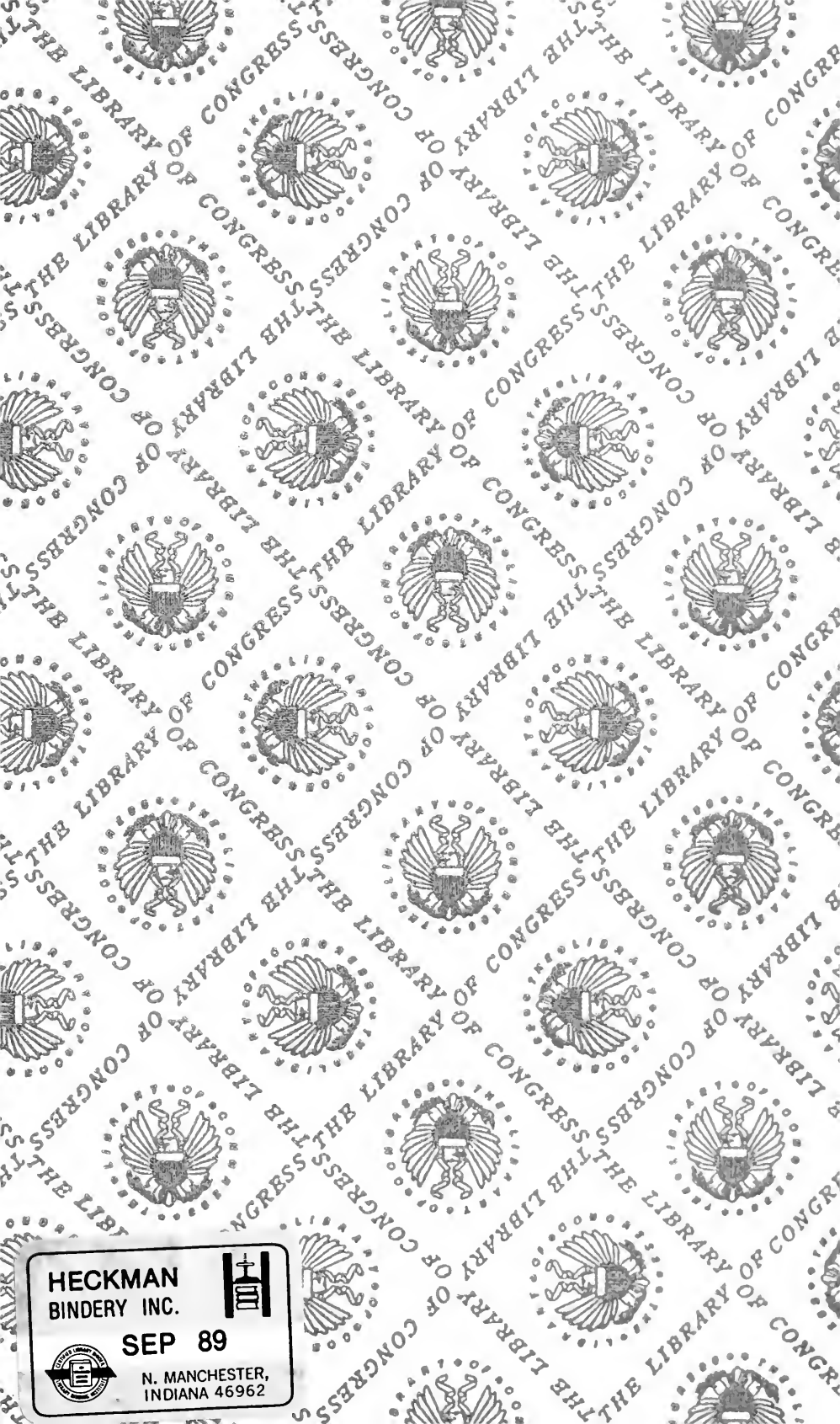

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